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THE EMPEROR MEIJI

o

Japan of the Japanese

By

Joseph H. Longford

LATE H.M. CONSUL AT NAGASAKI: PROFESSOR OF JAPANESE,
KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON: BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
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PREFACE

Books on Japan are as plentiful as primroses in April, but the majority are equally evanescent, and however great their number, the ignorance of the subjects with which they deal that still prevails among even the well-informed section of the British public is greater. Korea has been a very important factor in the national life of Japan throughout the whole of the present generation, and during the last six months I have been twice asked by distinguished members of a learned profession, "Where is Korea?" A high official of a society, whose special province is to deal with Japan, thought that Sir Harry Parkes, Great Britain's former Minister, and Sir Henry Parkes, the Australian statesman, were one and the same person. A prominent English statesman was under the impression, not very long ago, that Manchus and Japanese are synonymous terms. "The Japanese got their language from China," "The Japanese are all dishonest," are remarks constantly made to me, while those with which I am sometimes favoured on Japanese women, either by travellers, who have spent a few weeks in the country, and whose experience of the women is limited to a special class, or by persons who have derived their information from these travellers, are such as demand considerable self-control on my own part not to outrage the elements of politeness in my replies. There may, therefore, be room for yet another book, in which some of the aspects of Japanese life and of the conditions of an ancient

and powerful Empire are described by one who has spent the greater part of his life among the people and who has made them a subject of painstaking study.

While the present volume is primarily intended for those whose knowledge of Japan is limited, or has still to be acquired, I hope that the most esoteric readers will find in it something that they did not know before. It is far from exhaustive, even of the elements of the subjects of which it treats, still more so of the number which merited treatment, Its limits of space were prescribed, and chapters on Religion. Foreign and Domestic Politics, Colonial Expansion and Administration, the Changes in the Economic and Social conditions of life that have followed on the last war and are incidental to growing wealth and strength, and on the Progress already made towards the attainment of the Hegemony of the Pacific, have been necessarily excluded in favour of those which seem more likely to appeal to popular taste and requirements.

JOSEPH H. LONGFORD.

KING'S COLLEGE,
November 15, 1911.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION

SINCE the first edition of this work was published the Emperor Mutsuhito has died, and has been succeeded on the throne by his only son, who is now the Emperor Yoshihito, the 122nd Sovereign of the dynasty in the direct line of descent from its founder, the Emperor Jimmu. The present Emperor was born on August 31st, 1879, and is now, therefore, 35 years of age. He married on May 10th, 1900, the Princess Sadako, fourth daughter of Prince Kujo Michitaka, the head of one of the four branches of the illustrious Fujiwara family, from whose daughters the Imperial Consorts, when not themselves of Imperial lineage, have invariably been chosen throughout the last twelve centuries, and three sons have been born from the marriage.

The death of the late Emperor occurred on July 10th, 1912, and it was followed on April 9th, 1914, by that of the Empress Haruko, the lady who shared his throne throughout nearly the whole of his reign, a reign which was not only the most eventful, the most pregnant, and the most glorious, but was also the longest in the authentic history of the Empire, covering as it did an unbroken period of forty-five complete years. To this period the chronological title of Meiji (Enlightened Government) was, by a happy forecast of its character, given at its inception. Notwithstanding their adoption in other respects of the Gregorian Calendar the Japanese have retained the practice of using the Chinese system of the computation of years, under which years are reckoned by periods, each period being designated by a specific title (*Nengo*) and each successive year as the 1st, 2nd, etc., of that period. Formerly these periods were of purely arbitrary length. The beginning of a new one was generally coincident with some striking

national event, but was seldom synchronous with the beginning of a new reign. It was, however, enacted at the beginning of Meiji that all chronological periods should thenceforth begin and end with each successive reign. Under this law, the period of Meiji automatically came to an end with the death of the Emperor Mutsuhito, and a new one, dating from January 1st in the year of his death, was at once begun, to which the title of Taisho (Great Righteousness) was given. The present year (1914) is, therefore, known as the third year of Taisho, and the date of the Emperor Mutsuhito's death will be recorded in Japanese history as the tenth day of the seventh month of the first year of Taisho.

All Japanese Emperors have from time immemorial been remembered in history under posthumous titles (*Okuri-na*). Every Emperor had his personal name (*Jitsu Miyo*) in his lifetime, though it was never publicly used, but it died with its owner and was replaced by a posthumous title, which was generally supposed to be indicative of the most prominent virtue in the character of him to whom it was given. As an innovation had been made on the accession of the late Emperor in the abolition of arbitrary changes in the year periods so was another made on his death, when it was decided that his posthumous title should be the *nengo* of the long period through which he had lived and reigned. Perhaps the innovation was not so great as appears on first sight, as "Enlightened Government" was a virtue in the Emperor's character, but in any case it is the first instance in a history which, including its mythical portion, extends over 2,500 years of a sovereign's posthumous title being synonymous with any of the *nengo* of his reign.

The national sorrow of the people at their Emperor's death was both deep and sincere. It was manifested by the prayers that were offered for his recovery during his last illness and by universal mourning when he was dead, and there can be no doubt that, apart from the reverence in which he was held as the direct descendant of the Gods in Heaven and their

Vicegerent on Earth, he occupied, as a man, a real place in the love of all his people, or that the love which they manifested for him was fully reciprocated in the sympathy that he never failed to show in all their joys and sorrows. No European can adequately estimate the full extent of the part he played in the regeneration of his Empire, but it is known that, even if he did not initiate the great reforms that were so triumphantly accomplished in what is but a moment in the lifetime of a nation, he not only never opposed them but invariably gave to them his unreserved public support. Industry, education, militarism, charity, the development of political consciousness and of the rights of individual liberty, all owed much to the public countenance which he gave to the ministers who always acted in his name. At two great national crises, when the most vital interests of the Empire were at stake, and the leaders of his Cabinet were hopelessly divided, he at once showed his soundness of judgment and strength of character in ordering the course that was to be taken, and in both instances the correctness of his decision was afterwards amply vindicated.

Notwithstanding all the great changes that have taken place many of the traditional customs of Old Japan are still cherished in the hearts of the people, most of all by those of Samurai descent. *Junshi*—literally following in death, the sacrifice by his own hand of a retainer on the grave of his dead lord—is one of the oldest. It has been over and over again forbidden by law but in vain, and it was sadly exemplified on the death of the Emperor, when General Nogi (whose portrait is given at page 246), one of the greatest generals distinguished in the Russian War, and his wife, sought and found their "long sleep" (it seems revolting to use the term "suicide" in such a case,) in the time-honoured Samurai fashion, before their own family altar. Their two sons had both fallen in the Russian war, fighting for their Emperor. The father refused to live after the master, whom he had served so well, was gone, and the mother, as the true and loyal wife, faithful to

the most extreme tenets of *Teijo-do*—the way of the virtuous woman—equally refused to survive her husband. In Japan, neither suicide nor assassination can, even at the present day, be judged by the ethical codes of Christian Europe, and the suicide and the assassin, when the purity or patriotism of his motives is evident, is not seldom as affectionately and as reverentially honoured in the memories of his fellow-citizens as the soldier who has fallen in the field of battle or the statesman who has served his country well in the Cabinet. And so it is in the case of General Nogi and his wife. Both are now no less remembered as the devoted servants whose souls attended that of their beloved master to the land of spirits, than is the husband as the brave and capable captor of Port Arthur and the wife as the mother who gave her only sons to die in that Master's cause.

Japanese widows rarely appear in public, and the Empress Haruko was no exception to the general rule. She nursed her dying husband devotedly to the last moment, and then her public life was ended. What that life was is faintly outlined in the text, but a whole volume of no less length than the present would fail to do justice to the services which she rendered to her country or to the beauty of the noblest and gentlest womanly traits with which her character was endowed. The men of Japan owe much to her husband for their political emancipation. The women owe no less to her for their emancipation from moral and intellectual servitude, and for all that has been done to qualify them as worthy mothers of the future citizens of a great empire. As in the case of the Emperors, so also in that of the Empresses. They are known to history only under their posthumous titles. That conferred on the Empress Haruko is *Shoken*, which may be freely translated "manifest virtue," the second syllable embodying the idea of "obedience to the laws of Heaven and of Nature," and the two combining to signify that all the highest virtues, according to the national code of morality, were concentrated in her to whom the name has been given.

It is too early as yet to attempt to analyse the character of the Emperor Yoshihito, and it would be rash to make any forecast of the influence which he will exercise in his Empire. Throughout his childhood he was physically delicate and required the most unremitting care. But his appearance was smart and soldierly as a youth, his face bright and intelligent, and, unlike his father, who seldom or never outwardly betrayed his feelings whether of pleasure or of anger, he frequently rewarded with smiles those who interested or cared for him.

The late Emperor, as we have said, won the affection of his subjects as a man no less than he held their reverence as their enthroned sovereign, and nothing has yet appeared in the character of his successor to cause any fear that he may fail where his father was so successful. But the spirit of constitutional reform is growing. The previous generation, by whom modern Japan was created, only acquired this spirit when they had already arrived at early manhood, and in them it was always tempered by the teaching of their childhood and youth that the most absolute subordination of the individual to the family and of the family to the State was the first duty of life. The present generation has grown from childhood with opportunities for studying Western philosophy that were not available to their fathers. Throughout all their lives they have been under the direct influence of constitutionalism, and have developed a spirit of individualism which is in direct antagonism to all the leading tenets of Old Japan. Younger sons no longer consider it their duty to remain throughout their lives mere appanages of the family into which they were born, to render unquestioning obedience to and to be dependent on its head for their support, but go out into the world to strike out new and independent careers for themselves, and are more and more tending to consider that the prizes of life should be for those who have earned them, and not be the common property of a group, large or small as the case may be, who are united only by the artificial bonds of the legal family.

How far this social development will ultimately affect the authority of the throne, which is largely founded on the idea of the family, for the Emperor is the head of the entire Japanese family, time alone will show, but even now, the people are unmistakably indicating the growth among them of a consciousness that they should have a more effective voice in the political administration and direction of the State, than is given to them by their present constitution, and that the will of the people should be an element in the decision of great national questions. The Emperor is, however, still the final arbiter of what is to be done or not done, and the continued duration of his personal authority depends on himself and his ministers. It is his prerogative to appoint these ministers, free from all direct interference in their selection and in their retention in office on the part of parliament, but fettered in so far that they cannot continuously carry on his government without the support of parliament. Should he show the judgment in selecting competent and patriotic advisers and in giving them the complete confidence that his father did throughout his whole reign, the period of Taisho may be as brilliant in its history as was that of Meiji ; though its brilliance will be found, it may be hoped, in social and economic progress rather than in military glory.

The present edition has been revised throughout and the statistics, wherever possible, have been carried down to a later date than in the first.

JOSEPH H. LONGFORD.

KING'S COLLEGE,
August 15, 1914.

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Japan of the Japanese

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

THE Japanese Empire consists of a long chain of islands, which enclose the Eastern coasts of continental Asia in the form of the arc of a circle and extend from 50° 56' to 21° 45' north latitude, thus covering over 29 degrees of latitude. It also includes

The Principal Islands.

the whole of the Peninsula of Korea, annexed by Imperial Proclamation in 1910, and the southern extremity of the Peninsula of Liao Tung acquired by conquest in the Russian war of 1904. Its most northern limit is found in the island of Shumshiri (an Ainu name), one of the Kurile Islands, which is separated from Cape Lopatka, the southern point of the Peninsula of Kamchatka, by a strait only twenty miles wide, and its most southern at Cape Nanka (South Cape), the southern extremity of the island of Formosa. Between these two limits, the islands are continuous. In the north are the Kurile Islands, called by the Japanese Chishima, or the thousand isles, thirty-one in number, bleak, barren, surrounded by stormy, fog-ridden seas and sparsely populated by fishermen, with almost arctic characteristics of climate and vegetation. Next to them comes the first of the large islands, Yezo, called by the Japanese Hokkaido, or Northern Sea Circuit, with an area of 30,000 square miles, well-wooded, with a luxurious soil, and climate and vegetation resembling those of Canada, but still in the process of colonisation from the Southern Islands. Separated from it by the Straits of

Tsugaru is what is generally called Hondo or Honshiu, the Main Island, but is now termed Nippon in official publications, and it is by the last term that it will hereafter be mentioned in this volume. It is the largest of the entire group, with an area of nearly 100,000 square miles and a coast line of 4,700 miles, and in it are both the old and the modern capitals, and the majority of the populous and wealthy cities of the Empire. It runs from its northern limit on the Tsugaru Straits nearly due south as far as Tokio, the capital, for a distance of 590 miles ; then it bends westwards for 540 miles to the Straits of Shimonoseki, its total length being thus 1,130 miles, while its width varies from 250 miles in the latitude of the capital to 60 miles between Osaka, at the entrance to the Inland Sea, and Maizuru on the Gulf of Tsuruga, which opens on the Sea of Japan. South of Nippon are Shikoku or the Four Provinces, with an area of 6,000 square miles, on the east, and Kiushiu or the Nine Provinces, with an area of 13,700 square miles, on the west, both separated from Nippon by the Inland Sea. These, with Yezo, were the four principal and largest islands in the Empire prior to the acquisition from China of Formosa as part of the spoils of the China-Japan War of 1894.

One of the early names of Japan was the " Eight Great Islands." The Eight did not include Yezo, which, when the term was in use, was unknown and uncolonised and peopled only by the barbarian Ainu, the autochthons of Japan, with whom the Japanese were, in the early days of their history, at perpetual war, maintaining relations similar to those of the early British colonists of America with the Red Indians. The remaining five of the eight were Awaji, between the Main Island and Shikoku, interesting as the Eden of Japan, where Izanagi and Izanami, after their descent from heaven, met and loved and began the creation of the other islands, and at present more prosaically so in the fact that it is the Greenwich of Japan which gives the time to the whole Empire ; Sado,

**The Smaller
Islands.**

famous for its gold mines, now exhausted, on the west coast of Nippon ; Oki and Iki in the Sea of Japan ; and Tsushima in the Straits of Korea, midway between Shimonoseki and Fusan. Both the first and last mentioned are islands of extreme picturesque beauty, well-wooded with the trees that beautify the landscapes of Japan with their blossoms and foliage in spring and autumn, and both possess harbours that, in their own peculiar ways, present entrancing aspects of sea and landscapes. The harbour of Yura in Awaji has always been a favourite theme for Japanese poets who have sung of the beauties of nature, while Tsushima (literally " The Island of the Port," the port in which sea-going junks formerly rested while on their way from Japan to Korea), though called one island is practically two, being divided right through its centre by a miniature Inland Sea, a deep sound running through the hills that rise abruptly on both its shores from the western coast of the island and connecting, at its eastern limit by an artificial channel, with the sea on that side. Tsushima is famed in the history of old Japan as the stepping-stone to Korea and in modern history as the spot where, in 1861, when New Japan had not yet even donned its swaddling clothes, Russia made an attempt to secure a new basis for her fleet, and was foiled by British watchfulness and determination, and also as the scene, in 1905, of the destruction of the great Russian Armada by Admiral Togo's ships and guns. It is now strongly fortified and is a place of great strategic importance, commanding, as it does, the passage from the China to the Japan Sea.

From the south of Kiushiu, after passing one or two outlying islands that are included in Kiushiu, as we may say the

The Loochoo
Islands.

Isle of Wight is included in England, the first of the long, straggling chain of the Loochoo Islands, fifty-five in number, is reached and they form an almost continuous link with Formosa, the most southern part of the Empire. Off the west coast of Formosa are the Pescadores, a small group of islands, called by the

Japanese Hokoto, in longitude $119^{\circ}20'$ E. The most eastern of the Kurile Islands is in longitude $156^{\circ}32'$ E., and these are the extreme longitudinal limits of the Empire. The Loochoo Islands, called Riukiu by the Japanese, formerly occupied politically a position somewhat akin to that of Korea. The ruler, who was said to be descended from Tametomo, a mediæval hero of the Minamoto family, who fled there for refuge when the fallen fortunes of his family left no place for him in Japan, was called a king, but, like the King of Korea, rendered homage to the Emperor of China, from whom he always obtained his formal investiture on his accession. Like Korea and Japan, Loochoo received all its civilisation from China. The islands were conquered in the beginning of the seventeenth century by the feudal lord of Satsuma, the most southern province of Kiushiu, and from that time they were considered to be an integral part of the Japanese dominions, though the King was left with his title and unfettered, as were all the feudal chiefs in Japan itself, in his internal administration. Until 1879 he was permitted to continue his semi-independence, to observe his two-fold allegiance to China and Japan, but in that year the Japanese felt themselves strong enough to assert their proprietary rights even at the risk of offending China. The King was deposed, brought to Tokio, and solaced for the loss of his royal dignity by a patent of nobility and a pension, and his little kingdom was converted into an ordinary prefecture.

All the islands of Japan are said to number over three thousand, but these include uninhabited islets and isolated rocks, and the number of sufficient extent to admit of their being inhabited by the smallest village community is 541. The aggregate coast-line is naturally of great length and is said to measure over 18,000 miles. With the exception of the north-west coast of Nippon, it is everywhere indented by bays or gulfs, by harbours and often by narrow inlets which run for a considerable distance amidst high hills into the land.

Coast-Line.
Islands and
Bays.

The most prominent among them are the Bay of Sendai, the Gulf of Tokio and the Suruga Gulf on the east coast of Nippon ; the Bays of Kagoshima, Shimabara, Omura and Nagasaki in Kiushiu ; and the Bay of Maizuru (or Tsuruga) on the south-west coast of Nippon. An enumeration of all the harbours would almost require a chapter in itself.

The Inland Sea, which extends from the Pacific Ocean to the Sea of Japan and, as before said, separates Nippon from Shikoku and Kiushiu, might almost be called

**The Inland
Sea.**

one great harbour, so landlocked is it and so secure from storms. It is only exposed to the violence of either wind or waves in its broadest portion, which faces the Bungo Channel, its southern exit to the Pacific Ocean. Strictly speaking, the Inland Sea begins at the island of Awaji on the east and ends in the narrow straits of Shimonoseki on the west, its total length between these extreme points being 217 miles. It is one of the most beautiful inland seas in the world, in which the beauties of nature have been scattered with so bountiful a hand that any attempt to describe them would be in vain. Throughout its entire length, it is studded with islands, so closely following each other that they convert the greater part of the sea into what appears to be a succession of lakes, each one seeming to surpass its predecessor in the beauties of its environment.

All the islands are mountainous in the extreme. Except in the Hokkaido, and in the great plain of the eastern provinces of Nippon, in the centre of which lies the capital, there are scarcely anywhere extensive

Mountains.

tracts of level land unbroken by hills and valleys. Highest among all the mountains of the four principal islands is Fujiyama (its former glory as the highest in the Empire has been taken from it by the two lofty peaks of Formosa), an almost perfect cone, rising to the height of 12,365 feet, a little more than 60 miles to the south of Tokio. Its majesty and grace are not only the constant theme of Japanese poets and painters, and have exercised, according

to a recent Japanese writer, "from time immemorial a silent influence on the formation of Japanese character," but have provoked praise from foreign admirers no less enthusiastic than that of the most ardent native.

Mount Fuji stands isolated in the midst of a great plain which, on three sides, is surrounded by mountain ranges of varying height but nowhere above 7,000 feet.

**Mount
Fuji.**

On the fourth, the southern side, Fuji slopes in one long symmetrical sweep, down to the shores of the sea on the Gulf of Suruga. From whatever point it is seen, and it is visible from thirteen of the eastern provinces of Nippon, whether in the whole of its contour or when the view is broken by the intervening mountains which permit only a view of its summit; whether in summer, when it is entirely bare; or in winter, when it is covered from base to summit with deep snow; or in spring and autumn, when only its summit is snow clad, it presents in its solitary grandeur a picture of impressive beauty which justifies its claim to be the most lovely mountain in the world, and has rendered it worthy of all the tributes that have been paid to it by poets and artists.

In a country that glories in the possession of a Fuji, it might well be thought that all other mountains should be neglected, but everywhere there are others

**Other
Mountains.**

distinguished for their own peculiar beauties or grandeur, for their forests, their vegetation, the rivers that flow from them, in which the Japanese take a pride only inferior to that which Fuji inspires. Prominent among them are the Nikko Mountains, where the beauties of nature have been supplemented by the greatest triumphs which Japanese architects and decorative artists have achieved in the imposing tombs of the Tokugawa Shoguns, both Nature and art combining to form scenes so beautiful that a proverb says: "Whosoever has not seen Nikko has no right to pronounce the word kekko—beautiful." In the centre of Nippon, there is found the range of mountains that



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FUJIYAMA AND ITS REFLEX IN LAKE SHOJI

are known as the Japanese Alps, which have been described in a most interesting work by the Rev. W. Weston, who explored them, climbing peaks which not even a Japanese hunter, priest or pilgrim, all the most indefatigable mountain-climbers of the whole people, had ever ascended before. In the Nikko range, the highest peaks are Nantai-san and Shirane-San, both tempting objects to the European tourist with the mountaineering instinct, while among the Alps, the highest peak is Ontake, the second highest mountain in Japan exclusive of Formosa, like Fuji, an extinct volcano, though its slumbers date from a period far anterior to those of Fuji. Altogether there are in Japan over forty mountain peaks whose heights exceed 7,000 feet.

There are no less than fifty-one volcanoes which are still in active existence, the best known of which is Asama-Yama, in the province of Shin-shiu, 80 miles to the

Volcanoes. north-west of Tokio, which has a long record of death-dealing eruptions, from whose crater, "a furnace filled with living coal," flames and sulphurous smoke still issue, coming from the fires which the Japanese believe are ever burning below. Its height just exceeds 8,000 feet. Another noteworthy volcano is Aso-San, 20 miles from Kumamoto, in Kiushiu, whose crater is said to be the largest in the world and to measure from 10 to 14 miles in diameter. Its last eruption was in the year 1884, when the ashes which poured from it spread as far as Kumamoto and darkened the sky for three days. Fugendake, 4,800 feet high, in the Shimabara peninsula in Kiushiu, is not a volcano but is interesting in that no other mountain in Japan commands more lovely views of land and sea, and that it stands in the midst of the boiling springs of Unzen, in whose sulphurous waters many of the Christian martyrs of the seventeenth century were flung when persecution was in its worst and most cruel form.

In such a land, volcanic in its formation throughout the whole of its great length, with dead or living volcanoes in

every part of it, it is natural that earthquakes should be an ever-present phenomenon. No part of the Empire is entirely free from them, but the central provinces of

Earthquakes. Nippon have always been the worst sufferers.

Five hundred distinct shocks are an ordinary number to occur in one year, and while many of them are imperceptible except to the scientific observer and most are slight, they have, on many occasions in the Empire's history, rivalled that of Lisbon or the worst in American records in their widespread destruction of life and property. The most famous is the rather apocryphal one of the year 286 B.C., the memory of which depends entirely on oral tradition, which was so violent as to cause Mount Fuji to rise out of the earth in one night, and Lake Biwa to appear simultaneously. The surrounding country, both of Fuji and Lake Biwa, was at that time still occupied by the Ainu aborigines, and the tradition may be said to derive some support from one of the suggested derivations of the name Fuji, from an Ainu verb which means "to push out."

One great earthquake is said to have occurred throughout Japan's history every ten years, but the latest in the present generation that was accompanied by great loss both of life and property was in 1891, the effects of which were experienced in the centre of Nippon over an area greater than that of

**Great
Earthquake
of 1891.**

England. Without a moment's warning, early in the morning of a bright autumn day, in the space of half a minute, more than 8,000 people met with terrible deaths, twice that number were injured, and the total death-roll ultimately exceeded 20,000, a number which however fades into comparative insignificance when compared with the records of 1596 and 1854. Not only houses and villages, but populous and prosperous towns were reduced to ruins; in many of them not a single house was left, fire, always the accompaniment of severe earthquakes, completing the destruction which the shocks had commenced. Great railway bridges, the best and most solid work

that English engineers and manufacturers could produce when unlimited to cost, were broken and twisted out of all shape as though they had originally been of matchwood. Earth fissures, fathoms deep, were seen everywhere. Streams were dammed by land upheavals and became lakes. Others ceased to flow at all, and in many places the subsidence of the earth not only ruined villages, cultivated fields, and forests, but changed the whole physical aspect of the district.

Only less terrible in their effects than earthquakes are tidal waves, which on the coast almost invariably follow severe earthquakes. The last of these occurred in

Tidal Waves. 1896, when a long stretch on the north-east coast of Nippon was swept from end to end for a distance of fully 170 miles, and when the waters subsided scarcely a vestige of human habitation or life remained, the total loss of life exceeding 30,000.

Earthquakes and tidal waves are the two great natural ravagers of Japan, but she often suffers much from the devastations of the violent rotary storms of the Eastern Seas known as typhoons, which are no less destructive than the cyclones of the East or the hurricanes of the West Indies, and from inundations, while fires are so frequent and so destructive that the average lifetime of a house was, in the days of seclusion, said to be only seven years. The introduction of European appliances, the storage of an abundant supply of water, the use of brick in the business portions of large towns for building purposes in the place of wood, and the widening of streets whenever rebuilt, have, during the present generation, done much to lessen the ravages from this cause. The old proverb which says that things to be dreaded in this life are " earthquakes, fire, parents and lightning " is, however, still current.

In islands so narrow and mountainous as those of Japan the rivers must necessarily be both short and rapid. The longest in Nippon, the River Shinano, which flows into the

sea at Niigata on the west coast, only attains a length of 215 miles. It is exceeded by the Ishikari in Hokkaido, which attains a length of 400 miles and, flowing for a large part of its length through plains, is navigable for small boats for about a hundred miles

Rivers. from its mouth. The other large rivers of Nippon, all in the centre, which is the widest part of the island, are the Tone, 170 miles in length with its branch, the Yedo, flowing into the Gulf of Tokio, the Sumida 73 miles, the Tama 98 miles, the Ten-Riu 136 miles, and the Fuji 85 miles ; but whatever Japan lacks in the length of its rivers as compared with those of any of the great continents of the world, is amply atoned by their number. We have only mentioned a few, and, with the exceptions of the Ishikari and the Shinano, those not the largest ; a long list might be drawn up of others which flow through all parts of Nippon and furnish an abundant supply of water both for agricultural and manufacturing purposes. Water-power is almost everywhere available for machinery, and, thanks to it, the Japanese enjoy what is perhaps the cheapest electric motor and lighting facilities in the world. It is not uncommon to see even a mountain village lighted with electricity, which the poor inhabitants are able to afford, thanks to the water-power which they have at their very doors. The quantity of water varies, however, very greatly according to the season of the year. In winter and summer many of the rivers become the merest streams, while in spring and early summer the melting snows on the mountains from which they flow and the torrential rains that pour throughout the rainy season cover their wide beds, dry at other seasons, with raging torrents which not infrequently burst their banks and flood the country for many miles on both sides. Provision has to be made for this in the construction of railway bridges, the approaches to the bridges having invariably to be carried over long lengths of flood-arches before even the bed of the river is reached.

Rapids are numerous, and on some of the rivers the most



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SCENE AT MATSUSHIMA

lovely and thrilling descents can be made through the gorges and ravines, in which the rivers cut their way past the high forest-clad hills that rise often several

Rapids. hundred feet sheer from their banks. Most European visitors to Japan descend the rapids

of the river Katsura, near Kioto, and are loud in their praises of the beauty of the scenery on its banks, still more of the excitement of the descent along the rapids and races which they pass during an excursion of about 13 miles in length. Few, however, know or see the far more beautiful and far more exciting rapids of the Fuji, which winds round the southern base of the mountain from which the river takes its name, or the still more attractive Tenriu, the river which flows in the centre of the island from the Mountains of Shinshiu to the Pacific, and in a course of 90 miles, passes through more than thirty rapids, each one of which seems to be more dangerous than its predecessor, and the calmest of which is, at first, sufficient to try even very strong nerves, though confidence is soon engendered by the skill of the boatmen.

The lakes of Japan are hardly less beautiful than the rivers, and though, of course, less numerous, they are many in number. Only one attains a large size, Lake

Lakes. Biwa, so called on account of the resemblance which it is supposed to bear in its shape to the

Japanese lute (biwa), the lake which is said to have appeared simultaneously with Mount Fuji. Its size is about equal to that of Lake Geneva, its length being 36 miles, its width 12 miles, and its circumference about 180 miles.

There are three places in Japan celebrated as having the most beautiful views in the islands. These are Matsushima,

Celebrated Scenery. on the north-east coast of Nippon, where a lovely bay, studded by what is not in name alone but almost in reality a thousand islands,

every one of which is crowned by at least one pine tree and some are so small that they have room on their summits for no more than one, forms a picture of bewildering beauty;

Miyajima in the Inland Sea, the sacred island covered with groves of maple trees, where a great temple is built in such a way that it seems to float upon the waters; and Ama-no-Hashidate, in the province of Tango on the Sea of Japan, a long neck of land, lined throughout its entire length of about 2 miles by a double row of stately pine trees, and supposed to be the bridge by which the creators of the world, Izanagi and Izanami, descended from heaven when about to begin their task of forming the islands of Japan, the first part of the world to be created. When the Emperor Jimmu's grandsire also descended from heaven, and heaven and earth became separated for ever, the "floating bridge of heaven," which had hitherto connected the two, disappeared and became transformed into the Ama-no-Hashidate, the Ladder of Heaven.

These are the three great views of Japan, but in many parts there are what are called the Eight Views, and in every one the inhabitants of that part pride themselves

Views on
Lake Biwa.

on the pre-eminence of their own eight, but among all of them the only ones that may be said to have obtained national as distinct from local celebrity are the Omi no Hakkei, the eight views of Lake Biwa. All are indicative of the forms of natural beauty which appeal to the tastes of even the lowest and most uncultivated Japanese. They are the autumn moon as it is seen from Ishiyama-dera, the temple of the rocky mountain, a famous temple with a history of more than a thousand years; the evening snow on Hirayama, a hill on the south of the lake; the sunset at Seta, whose long bridge crosses the lake where it narrows in its north-eastern corner; the Monastery of Miidera when the tones of its great bell sound the curfew as the evening falls; the boats sailing back at evening across the lake from Yabase; the bright sky with a breeze at Awazu; rain falling at night at Karasaki, and wild geese alighting at evening at Katata, all the last names being those of places on the shores of or near the Lake. It is not to be supposed that either the

wild geese, as they fly, following their leader in two long strings towards their resting-place for the evening, or the boats, their sails reddened in the setting sun, form the only attraction; each of the places that have been mentioned has its own natural charm in the views over the blue waters of the Lake or of the pine-clad mountains around it, but it is the geese, the boats, the snow or the rain, as the case may be, that form the specific object of picnic parties who throng to view them at the appropriate seasons, whether of winter or of summer, in the day, in the evening or at night, and in them the roughest Japanese mechanic or peasant finds the same pleasure as his English confrère does in a bank holiday on the sands of Blackpool or the heaths of Hampstead.

While Biwa is the largest of the Japanese lakes, there are others which, though not even remotely approaching it in size, excel it in their natural beauties. Chiusenji

Other Lakes. nestling amidst the mountains of Nikko, more than 4,000 feet above the sea level, rivals Killarney in the softness of its beauties and the finest of the Scotch lakes in its impressive surroundings of lofty mountain peaks. The Lake of Hakone, on the borders of the Provinces of Suruga and Sagami, differs from Chiusenji in that it is surrounded with hills covered with coarse bamboo grass but bright in summer with a wealth of gorgeous lilies, and from its shores one of the most lovely views of Mount Fuji is obtained. At the base of Fuji is the chain of the three Shoji Lakes, which are only second to Chiusenji in their scenic beauty. All these lakes are charming resorts in the height of summer and are visited each year by hundreds of European residents, both from the towns of Japan and the trading ports of the Chinese coasts, who there seek and find a complete refuge from the enervating heat of their usual homes.

Where there are mountain lakes and rivers there are also waterfalls, and though Japan cannot boast of a Niagara, there

are many which exceed it in height and all, when the volume of water which pours down is at its greatest, are exquisitely beautiful. Waterfalls are most numerous

Waterfalls. among the mountains of Nikko, but the largest in width are the "White Thread Falls" at the base of Fuji, more than forty in number, all so close together as practically to form one great waterfall, while the highest, over 300 feet, is that of Nachi, on the east coast of Kishiu. Another of exquisite beauty is the Yoro ga Taki, the Fall of Filial Piety, in the neighbourhood of Gifu, the waters of which fall between banks thickly clad with cherry and maple trees from a height of over a hundred feet. Both the last falls have touching legends connected with them. Yoro ga Taki commemorates a peasant who spent all his earnings in providing his father with drink while he himself starved. After several years of this self-denial, he was rewarded by having this fall revealed to him in a dream and, when he found it, it was not water that poured down it, but the best saké, the national drink of Japan. At the Nachi waterfall more than seven centuries ago the famous Buddhist priest, Mongaku, washed away with long penance the stains of the great crime of his early youth. He loved Kesa Gozen, who was already the wife of another, and she, frightened by his violence, promised all he desired provided that he first killed her husband. Instructed by her, the future priest entered the bed-chamber at night, and there cut off the head of the sleeping husband. When he examined the head, he found that it was not the husband but the wife whom he had killed. She, to save her own honour and her husband's life, had taken his place and submitted to death, and she has ever since been revered as one of the national heroines of Japan. The murderer, struck with horror at what he had done, forsook the life of the world, entered the priesthood and became one of the great lights of the Buddhist Church.

In a country that extends from the borders of the Arctic to those of the tropical zones every variety of climate is,

naturally, to be found. Even so far south as the northern provinces of the Main Island the snow often lies continuously in winter to the depth of 5 to 10 feet, while

Climate. the summer is oppressively hot. In the south it seldom covers the ground, though the high mountain tops may be white with it throughout a great part of winter. Generally speaking, the proximity of the ocean and the consequent abundance of moisture, and the influence of the Kuro-Shiwo, "The Black Salt," the Gulf Stream of Eastern Asia, which flows as a river through the sea from Southern China along the entire eastern coasts of Japan, render the climate on the eastern sides of the islands mild and temperate, and it may be generally described as somewhat colder in winter and warmer in summer than that of England. Winter on the west coast, facing Siberia and exposed to the bitter winds which blow from it across the sea of Japan, is much more severe than on the east. The annual rainfall is more than double that of England, in some of the southern districts more than quadruple, but, on the other hand, the number of rainy days is far less, and the cloudless beauty of fine days is infinitely more pronounced.

Enthusiastic travellers, whose experience is limited to the "Little Spring" (Koharu), or to the autumn months from

Climate as regards Europeans. October to December, which are the most delightful of all the year, when the air is dry and bracing, the sky always blue, and the atmosphere of transparent clearness, are wont to use eloquent language in their praises of the salubrity of the Japanese climate. But, as regards Europeans, it may be described rather as a pleasant than a healthy climate, enjoyable at most periods, except in the depressing rainy seasons in June and September, but trying in the long run to those accustomed to the more bracing influence of Western Europe. European residents who fall ill seldom recover either physical or mental strength while they remain in Japan, though on the other hand, a visit to the hill-resorts exercises

the most wonderfully recuperative effects on visitors enfeebled by long residences in such places as Singapore and Hong-Kong. Consumption, lumbago and rheumatism are the most prevalent diseases among the Japanese themselves, but these are as much due to the insanitary conditions under which many of the incidents of daily life occur as to the natural causes of climate.

Instances of centenarians are not infrequent, 318 males and 512 females appear as such in the census of 1908, but the average duration of life is less than that of Europe, only 3·14 of the whole population exceeding the age of seventy years, and both men and women age rapidly.

These islands, exclusive of the late acquisitions, are inhabited by a population of fifty-two million people who, whatever may have been the difference in

Population. the remote origin of their component elements, Chinese or Malay, Mongolian, Korean or autochthons, are now absolutely homogeneous in customs and language, the latter not even presenting dialectic differences. Economic and social conditions have continued to render the people one of the most prolific in the world, and with the exception of Germany, no country has within the last two generations shown a greater or more rapid increase of population. Since 1871 it has steadily grown at an average annual increase that exceeds 1·1 per cent., the decennial totals being—

1871	..	..	..	33,110,825
1881	..	..	..	36,700,118
1891	..	..	..	40,718,677
1911 (estimated)	..	..	..	51,646,273
1913	..	..	..	52,985,423

The latest accurate returns are for 1910, and they show a total of 50,984,844 for Japan proper and, including Formosa, of 54,326,061. The annexation of Korea has added fifteen millions to the whole population of the Empire.

Agriculture is still the principal industry in Japan, still occupying 63 per cent. of the population, but the great development of manufacturing industries during the last

quarter of a century has caused a steady gravitation of the people from the country to the cities. In 1894 the urban population (*i.e.*, that of the towns with over 10,000 inhabitants) was 6,732,808, and the rural 35,080,407. There were thirty-five towns with populations of from 30,000 to 100,000 (aggregating 1,620,394) and six towns with populations of over 100,000 (aggregating 2,585,746). In 1896 the population, excluding that of Formosa which had been acquired in the meantime, had grown from 41,813,215 to 43,763,153 (an increase of 1,949,938), but while the increase in the rural population was only 673,500, that in the urban was 1,276,438. The towns, with populations of between 30,000 and 100,000, had increased to thirty-nine (aggregating 1,770,512) and those with over 100,000 to eight (aggregating 3,497,910), the increase in the last-mentioned aggregate being no less than 912,164, or nearly half the total increase of the whole Empire. The increase was most marked in those towns which are recognised as the principal seats of industries, the introduction of which is of modern date, Osaka, Tokio, Nagoya, Kobe and Nagasaki.

The tendency of the people to emigrate from the rural to the urban districts still continues, and the latest statistics that are available at the time of writing show large increases both in the numbers of the towns having over 10,000 inhabitants, and in the populations of those that in 1896 already came within this category, notwithstanding that it is now not the towns of their own country that alone afford an opportunity to Japanese rustics of changing their condition. Large numbers now emigrate further afield and find employment in Formosa, Korea, Honolulu, California and Mexico, but the increased manufacturing industries that can only be economically carried out in towns and the demand that they make for labour still levy their annual toll on the agricultural districts, and as the land that is available for profitable

Continued
Gravitation
to Cities.

cultivation has long since been provided with all the people that can find work on or be supported by it, it must be in the towns that the population in future will show its great development.

At the close of 1908 there were ten towns with populations exceeding 100,000 ; ninety with populations exceeding 30,000, and twenty-six with populations exceeding 20,000. Those with less are no longer specifically mentioned. Even excluding them and limiting the term urban to towns with a population exceeding 20,000, the urban population had in 1908 grown to 9,119,452.

The following table shows the increases in the principal towns, eight of which are seats of manufacturing industries introduced from Europe, Kioto of valuable native art industries, and Kure of a great naval dockyard. In 1898 the population of the last was less than 20,000. Yokohama and Kobe, both of which have grown in little over fifty years to their present extent from poor fishing villages, owe their prosperity entirely to foreign trade—

	1908.		1898.	
	No. of Houses.	Population.	No. of Houses.	Population.
Tokio	542,090	2,186,079	316,527	1,440,121
Osaka	278,777	1,226,590	185,847	821,235
Kioto	81,068	442,462	66,999	353,139
Yokohama ..	78,136	394,303	31,765	193,762
Nagoya	84,438	378,231	56,680	244,145
Kobe	96,539	378,197	59,032	215,780
Nagasaki ..	23,816	176,480	16,559	107,422
Hiroshima ..	40,952	142,763	28,811	122,306
Kanazawa ..	28,613	110,994	28,507	83,595
Kure	21,676	100,679	—	—

Among the smaller towns there are instances of a still greater ratio of increase. The population of Sapporo, the capital of Hokkaido, has grown from 37,482 to 70,084 ; of Otaru, its seaport, from 56,960 to 91,280 ; Moji, which is now the principal coal exporting port of Kiushiu, had less than 26,000

Minor
Towns.

inhabitants in 1898. Ten years later it had 55,682. Yokosuka, in Nippon, also the seat of a dockyard, has grown from 24,847 to 70,964, and similar, if not so striking, tales may be told of every other town. We have not found one in the latest statistics whose population was less in 1908 than it was in 1898. The ten next in order to those already given in the table above are Sendai, Okayama, Sasebo, Otaru, Hakodate, Fukuoka, Wakayama, Yokosuka, Sapporo and Tokushima, and their aggregate population grew from 579,873 in 1898 to 829,520 in 1908. The population in 1908, divided according to castes, was—

	Heads of Families.	Members of Families.	Average No. of persons in each House- hold.
Kuazoku (Nobles)	887	4,755	6.36
Shizoku (Gentry)	428,826	1,789,797	5.17
Heimin (Commoners) ..	8,811,323	38,551,655	5.38

The number of Ainus, the surviving aborigines, now confined to Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands, was 18,017 (8,744 men and 9,273 women). As there has been a

Ainus. slight increase in their total numbers and as the birth-rate among them has now for some years exceeded that of the deaths, it would seem as if some check had been placed on their gradual extinction. The estimated number of the savages in Formosa is 115,245 (58,433 men and 56,812 women).

The total number of foreigners resident in Japan was, in 1910, 15,154, of whom 8,462 were Chinese. The balance of 6,692 included seven other Asiatic or African

Foreign Residents. and twenty-three European or American nationalities, taking all British citizens,

whether from the United Kingdom or its non-Asiatic possessions, as one nationality. The principal among them were—

British	2,552 residents
United States	1,633 ..
German	809 ..
French	547 ..
Portuguese	216 ..
Swiss	116 ..
Dutch	94 ..

Both United States and French residents include a relatively large number of missionaries as compared with those of other countries.

The distinguishing physical characteristics of the Japanese people are mentioned in the next chapter. As to their mental

**Mental and
Moral
Characteristics
of Japanese.**

and moral qualities, the opinions of Europeans will be found to differ widely. The traveller for pleasure, who spends a few happy months among them, will have little but good to say of them. The resident merchant, who looks back on as many decades as the pleasure-seeker does months, with his bitter memories of losses on broken contracts, with his consciousness that, after all his long years of hard work, during which his Japanese clients have generally taken the oyster and left him the shell, he is no nearer the realisation of his dream of a competence, sufficient to enable him to spend his old age in his own country, will, in his turn, probably have little or nothing that is good to say of them. The present writer, who comes under neither category, cannot recall to his memory a single day of unhappiness during his long residence among them that was due either to people or country, and he consequently bears many affectionate memories of both which make him turn to the people kindly eyes that have been always ready to see their best points. But eyes, however kind, are not blind to faults and failings and of these the Japanese have plenty, though neither their quality nor quantity is such as to place them on a lower moral level than their brothers and sisters of Christian countries. As to their mental qualities, they have themselves given the strongest evidence that they are in no sense inferior to Europeans, either in intellect or in the capacity to use it to the best advantage.

Speaking generally, the most prominent of the fundamental elements in their moral character are their loyalty, patriotism, devotion, fortitude, self-confidence, industry, enterprise, frugality, love of the beautiful in nature, courtesy, tact,



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PUBLIC GARDEN IN HIGO

politeness, endurance, gentleness, cleanliness and their happy laughter-loving capacity for extracting all the best of its joys out of life. The darker shades are exemplified

**Moral
Qualities.**

in vanity, revengefulness, lack of mercy, both to man and beasts, and of honesty, truthfulness, and chastity, the last only in the male.

They are perhaps the most laughter-loving people in the world, and this is the quality which first strikes the European who goes among them. Not only do the

**Love of
Laughter.**

perennial joys of life and special days of pleasure bring merry laughter to faces on which happiness and good-nature are always stamped, but all their training has taught them that every action, no matter how disagreeable it be, should be performed with a smile, and when misfortune comes it is equally to be faced with a smile ; that, above all, the trouble, whatever it is, is not to be inflicted on friends. If friends are told of it, it must be with a smiling countenance so that they may feel no sadness. In the earliest days of his residence, the writer met a banker who had fallen from the estate which he enjoyed when the Shogunate was still in power. He told of his share in the management of the financial affairs of the old Government and of the profit which it had brought him, both of which were ended by the Restoration, and how he, who had formerly lived with the utmost degree of burgher luxury, and was the living head of an old and time-honoured family, had lost all his business and had been reduced within two years to what was comparatively almost poverty. The story, as interesting as it was melancholy, was told throughout with a face from which smiles never once faded, without one word of repining or complaint. Five years later, during part of which the writer's duties had taken him to other districts, he again met the old banker, now unhappily still further fallen in the world. When asked as to his son who, at the first meeting, was a bright and clever lad of twenty years, the answer, given not with smiles but with almost loud laughter, was : " Oh, he

had his head taken off ! ” This seemed at first to be a joke, though it was difficult to see where the humour lay, but a little questioning showed that it was very grim truth. The youth, brought up in luxury till early manhood, taught to believe that the future for him was all brightness, had, when poverty came, tried to relieve it by robbery and, as it was in the days of the old laws, he paid the last bitter penalty. The old father’s heart was broken and yet his misery had to be concealed in laughter lest a stranger should be saddened by his sorrows.

This is a strong instance, but it is typical of many that are of daily occurrence in all parts of the Empire and among every class of the people. Householders will tell

**Laughter in
Misfortune.**

of the loss of all their goods by fire, the sick of their physical pain, and wives part with their husbands and mothers with their sons when they start on their way to the field of battle, all with smiles, and in whatever incidents of life sorrow and anxiety come, the outward manifestations in tears or wailing are as rare among adults as they are among children who, in Japan, never have cause for them. It is not frivolity, not hardness of heart, that represses them, but the teachings of centuries that all decrees of fate must be met, in private with stoical firmness and in public with smiling resignation. If smiles are the accompaniment of sorrow, it may be imagined how much more so they are of joy, and as joy can be extracted from very simple pleasures or very slight good fortune, it is more marked by its presence than by its absence in all Japanese life. It may be safely said that there is no happier people in the world, none who more impress their own happiness on all strangers who come in contact with them.

Their loyalty, patriotism and courage have been fully testified throughout all their history. Their self-confidence enables

them to find their way all over the world and, though ignorant of the language, through the streets of great cities which they have never visited before, and to undertake and carry through successfully

operations of engineering and medical science which European experts might contemplate with much diffidence. It not infrequently crosses the line which separates it from vanity, and the Japanese is undoubtedly vain, vain of his country as the Land and himself as the descendant of the Gods, but tact, which never fails him, generally serves to prevent the vanity becoming offensive and it never permits him to descend into the vulgarity which we call snobbery. The higher classes are as unassuming and unostentatious in the display of either rank or wealth as the lower are without desire to ape them, and all are in their own degrees frugal in their modes of life, and industrious in their spheres. Their holidays are, however, frequent, and, when occasion excuses them, they freely indulge in wild bursts of extravagance.

A Japanese is always courteous and polite, and no matter what he feels, he represses the outward display of anger as much as he does that of sorrow. Loud scolding and angry brawling are odious in his eyes, and are only heard amongst the lowest labourers, and among them only when their ordinary senses are lost in drink. To children he is infinitely tender, but he knows nothing of the chivalry which yields honour and deference to women, nor of the mercy which spares animals all unnecessary suffering. The influence of Western civilisation, and that alone, has taught him not to slaughter vanquished enemies, as he never failed to do before he felt that influence. He never forgets nor forgives an injury, and vengeance was one of the most holy duties enjoined in his old code of morality. Women are as chaste as in England, but chastity has no place in the moral code of men, and both men and women had to be taught decency, according to our ideas, by legislation. The late Sir Harry Parkes, forty years ago, described Japan as "a country in which all the women dressed from the waist downwards, and all the men from the waist upwards"; and a great American statesman, who visited it about the same time, as "a country of nudity, lewdity and crudity," and neither

**Other Moral
Qualities.**

description was at the time open to serious dispute. Mixed bathing, without a rag of clothing, was formerly universal. Once, a great many years ago, the writer was alone in a thermal bath at a fashionable spa, when a mother and her grown-up daughter, both fellow-guests at the hotel and of good position in life, came into the room and, without a particle of *mauvaise honte*, undressed and entered the bath, a large tank, where all three remained amiably conversing. Pornographic literature, pictures and symbols, of the most pronounced type, used to be openly sold in every street and read and carried about without the smallest attempt at concealment, even by children, and this continued until it was forbidden by law. But what we call decency the Japanese often call pruriency, and those of them who live in London regard with the utmost disgust, as the most flagrant violation of the elementary principles not only of modesty but of decency, the open display by thousands of youths and girls of what it would be an insult to term love-making that, in the dusk of every summer evening, is seen in all the parks and suburbs.

When truth conflicts with interest, it generally has to give way, and the lack of honesty in its best commercial sense among merchants has become a byword.

Honesty. But all Japanese merchants are not dishonest, and as for the other classes, the writer has met in his own experience many instances of the restoration of lost property which the finder, often a poor coolie to whom it would have been of great value, could have retained with complete safety to himself. The writer, not being a merchant, learned in Japan to trust all with whom he had business dealings, both Japanese and Europeans, and on his final return to England, he regulated his life on the same principle, with the result that he has found more occasion to regret it in thirteen years' life in England than he did in thirty years in Japan.

Taking him all round and at his best, the Japanese gentleman is among the most perfect in the world, charming as a

companion, faithful as a friend, kind himself and grateful for kindness shown to him, brave, courteous and dignified, while

**General
Summary.**

the parallel of the coolie, good-humoured, hard-working, brimful of local lore and anecdote, eager to give both pleasure and satisfaction to his employer and, however tired, always ready to minister to his wants before he seeks rest or refreshment for himself, is in all the world only to be found in the Irish jarvey. On the other hand, there is nowhere a more cruel, cowardly, merciless ruffian than the hooligan, whether of the middle or lower classes, and there are, or were, plenty of both in the great cities and at the open ports.

CHAPTER II

OUTLINES OF HISTORY

THE first Emperor of Japan was Jimmu Tenno, who ascended the throne in 660 B.C.—a century later than the founding of

**The First
Emperor.**

Rome. He was the direct descendant in the fifth generation of the Sun Goddess, who was herself the daughter of the Creators. His original home was at the base of Mount Takachiho, in the province of Hiuga, in the south-west of Kiushiu, where his ancestor had descended from heaven, and he continued to live there till he was forty-five years of age. Then he led an expedition to the north and, after long travels by both sea and land, with many adventures both human and miraculous, he at last reached Yamato, the province in central Japan in which the old capital, Kioto, now stands, and there he fixed his future home, establishing his capital at Kashiwabara, about half-way between Osaka and Nara. He reigned for seventy-five years, dying in the year 585 B.C., at the age of 127 years.

Divested of its supernatural elements, the story of the descent and the birth of the first Emperor and of his conquest of Japan means that he was the chief or the descendant of the chief of a body of immigrants which landed in Kiushiu, and, having established a base in that island, subsequently conquered both it and Nippon as far as the Province of Yamato, where Jimmu, the chief of the immigrants in the final stages of their conquest, consolidated his authority over the occupied districts. Another body of immigrants crossed the narrow sea which separates Korea from Japan and established themselves in Izumo, on the west coast, long prior to the landing of Jimmu or his progenitors in Hiuga. The immigrants from Korea were of the Oural-Altaic family. They started originally from

**Colonisation
of Japan.**

the plateau of Siberia and slowly made their way down the peninsula to its extreme southern limit and thence the crossing to Japan was easy. The original home of the Hiuga immigrants was also in Siberia ; they also may have crossed the peninsula though it is more likely that they trekked southwards through China and had far longer wanderings before they reached their destination than those who landed at Izumo. They possibly crossed from Southern China to Formosa, whence, with the help of the Kuro-Shiwo, the Gulf Stream of the Far Eastern Seas, they sailed to Japan. The whole subject can never be one of other than pure hypothesis, and the highest ethnographic and historic European authorities take the most conflicting views in regard to it, supporting in each case their views by plausible arguments.

Neither body of immigrants was the first to inhabit the lovely islands which they made their home. When they arrived they found a people who are now known as the Ainus and who, though they spread in primeval days over the whole Japanese Archipelago, are now only represented by a few thousand survivors in the north, in the island of Hokkaido and in the Kurile Islands. These people were gradually driven northwards by the invaders and suffered the same fate as the Red Indians of America, in their gradual extermination before an advancing wave of intelligence and prowess far superior to their own. Some of them, instead of retreating northwards with their own people, remained with the conquerors, fixed to the soil which they cultivated as bondsmen, and in the process of time became fused with them. All history shows that in colonising expeditions the women have been in small proportion to the men, the lower ranks of whom have been forced to find wives among the inhabitants whom they conquered and displaced. So it was with Japan. The rank and file of the invaders took Ainu wives, and hence we see to this day marked differences in the essential physical characteristics of the different classes of Japanese people.

Aboriginal
Inhabitants.

The upper classes, descended from the priests and soldiers of the invaders, have preserved the blood of their far-distant ancestors free from the taint of that of the

**Physical
Characteristics.**

aborigines and mixed only with that of Korean and Chinese refugees or missionaries who settled in Japan in large numbers between the fifth and seventh centuries, and who accentuated the aristocratic characteristics that were already present in the pure descendants of Jimmu's followers, so that their refinement grew in company with the progress of the nation. They preserve the well-known type which we see in its most exaggerated form in colour prints, distinguished by long oval faces, oblique eyes set in deep sockets, long eyelids, small mouths, straight noses, finely cut features, high and narrow foreheads, fair complexions with soft hairless skin of the fine texture that is called by the Japanese the *habutai hada*—the silken skin. On the other hand, in the labouring and agricultural classes of the present day we see in their squat, round faces, coarse features, eyes level with the faces, thick upturned noses with nostrils exposed, unmistakable evidence of their descent, pure or mixed, from the aboriginal Ainus. All Japanese have the yellow skin and black uncurling hair of the Mongols. All have comparatively longer bodies and shorter legs than the Europeans. All are both in physique and muscular strength inferior not only to Europeans but to Chinese and Koreans, but their deficiency in these respects is redeemed in some degree by their activity and endurance. The average height of the men may be taken as 5 ft. 3 ins. and of the women as 4 ft. 10 ins.

Eleven centuries after Jimmu's death the first great change took place in his people. Thirty-two emperors and empresses

had sat upon his throne, the most distinguished of whom was the Empress-Regent Jingo, who, in the year 202 A.D., led an invading expedition to Korea, where so great was her triumph

**Beginning of
Korean
Intercourse.**

that the three independent kingdoms which then occupied



AINUS AND JAPANESE OFFICIAL

the peninsula promised, through their kings, that they and their descendants would be the humble vassals of Japan "until the sun rose in the west, the rivers flowed backwards, and the river pebbles ascended to heaven and became stars." Sceptical European critics, unbiassed by the faith in the national traditions that is instilled into Japanese from their earliest years, have shown that the whole story of this invasion, full of picturesque and romantic incidents as it is, is a pure myth. But, whether as its result or not, a large intercourse began between Japan and Kórea not very long after its alleged date, and from Korea Japan received all the elements of the high degree of culture and civilisation which China had already not only attained herself but communicated to Korea. Then the Dark Ages of Japan were at an end, and the dawn of authentic history began. Japan acquired the arts of writing, painting, music, architecture, medicine, astronomy, geography, geomancy, and all the civilising elements of life that had hitherto been unknown to her—including "the arts of invisibility and magic"—all of which were taught by Korean scientists. They also taught her the Chinese systems of philosophy and literature and of political and social administration, which were the foundations of her national life till the nineteenth century, when they were replaced by what she learnt from Europe. At the same time, Korean missionaries, both priests and nuns, accomplished the most successful propagandising enterprise that the world has ever known by converting the entire nation, from the Emperor downwards, from the ancestral faith of their fathers to Buddhism.

This great national revolution in life, statecraft and religion was accomplished in the seventh century. Until then, the emperors had been the direct rulers of their dominions, the leaders of their armies and the controllers of civil administration, and the majority of them had been active and vigorous sovereigns. There was no permanent capital. The capital in each reign was where the emperor lived, and as it

Foundation of
the Capital
at Nara.

was inauspicious to occupy a palace in which death had occurred, each successive emperor built a new one for himself. It was not until the year 708 that the city of Nara was founded and the Nara Epoch of History began. There the sovereigns, who included three empresses, had their homes for nearly one hundred years and the national capital had its first aspect of permanency. In 794 it was transferred to Kioto, at first known as Heian-jo, the Castle of Peace, but ere long spoken of and known as Kioto, the Capital, and such the new city continued to be until 1868. The Nara Epoch was not only brilliant in its political and religious aspects but also in its literary, and in the influence which it exerted on the development of architecture, especially in the construction of temples throughout the whole Empire.

Court life in Nara had another great influence. The emperors, devoted to religion and art, permitted the active exercise of their functions as rulers to slip from their hands and to fall into those of the Fujiwara (Wisteria field), a noble family which traced its descent direct from Nakatomi, who descended from Heaven in the retinue of the Sun Goddess's grandson, and which, like the emperors, therefore claimed divine origin. The Fujiwara directed everything in the names of their sovereigns. They filled all the offices of state, both great and small, with their own kindred, and wives of the emperors were exclusively chosen from their daughters, so that they became closely related to all the members of the Imperial family. Buddhism brought with it the custom of forsaking the affairs of the world and retiring into private life so as to practise, undistracted by the thoughts of the world, the profound meditation which is the highest realisation of the Buddhistic gospel, and the custom was adopted in the court. Emperors, at first voluntarily, abdicated their thrones to devote themselves to religious observances, but the practice was soon made compulsory by the Fujiwara as a means of consolidating their own authority. They forced emperors to abdicate who showed

the least sign of fretting under their tutelage and then placed on the throne minors, the sons of Fujiwara daughters, who could be moulded without difficulty to their will.

For four centuries they acted, as had done the early emperors, as vigorous and capable rulers. Then the blight

**The Fujiwara
Downfall.**

which they had cast upon the emperors fell on themselves. They had made all the civil offices of the court and Government their own family preserve and the sole avenue to employment that was left open to other families, only less distinguished than their own, was that of military service. While the later generations of the Fujiwara were, in the luxury and ease of court life, sinking into effeminate sensualists, a race of soldiers was growing up on the northern frontiers, who had little patience with the voluptuaries of the court.

Two great families, the Taira and the Minamoto, the founders of which were the sons of Emperors, absorbed between them the flower of all the fighting men of the Empire and both had little inclination to brook a domination which had no strong arm to support it. Before both the

**Rise of the
Military
Caste.**

Fujiwara fell. Then when all the power of their common enemy was gone, the two soldier families turned their arms against each other and the Gem-Pei civil war—the Japanese War of the Roses,—which lasted for thirty years, began. At first, the Taira were triumphant, but, when their great leader, Kiyomori, was dead, the turn of the Minamoto came. The Taira were destroyed, and Yoritomo, the Minamoto chief, at the head of an irresistible army, became dictator of the Empire. From the emperor he received the title of Sei-i-tai-Shogun — Barbarian-repressing-Generalissimo. The term Shogun was an old one. It simply meant general, and had for ages been given to the leaders of troops in the field, either against the savage armies on the northern frontiers or insurgents in Kiushiu, when the emperor did not command in person, but Yoritomo was the first to receive it with the

addition of Tai—great, and to become *the* Shogun, the paramount lord of all the subjects of the Emperor. Fortified with his title, with all the military strength of the Empire at his command, he soon showed that he meant his authority to be no empty word. From the capital, which he founded at Kamakura, which under his fostering care soon grew into a large and flourishing city, he ruled the whole Empire with iron absolutism as the Vicegerent of the Heaven-descended Emperor, in whose name he always professed to act, from whose commission all his legal authority was derived.

In this way the dual system of government began which was a subject of much bewilderment to Europeans, both in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, in our own days, in the nineteenth century, until the investigations of English scholars furnished the means of acquiring a knowledge of Japanese history and of the principles of Japanese statecraft. At Kioto, there was always the Emperor, the legitimate sovereign, the sole legal source of honour and of all authority, sacred as the descendant of the gods in the eyes of all his subjects, but as powerless in fact as he was supreme in name. At Kamakura firstly, after its fall at Kioto, and later at Yedo, was the Shogun, the vassal of the Emperor but the *de facto* ruler of the Empire, rich and powerful, living in such splendour, dignity and authority that he was believed by Europeans to be the Emperor and was always mentioned and treated by them as such. They heard vaguely of another Emperor, secluded in Kioto, who was so sacred that he would never be seen either by them or by his own subjects. Him they called the “ Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor,” and they believed him to be Pope and Pontiff, but the Shogun was the secular Emperor in whom was vested all the administrative authority, whose favour alone was worth conciliating. This condition of affairs lasted until 1868, when the last of the Shoguns resigned his office and the Emperor resumed the active administration.



GATE OF TOKUGAWA TOMBS AT SHIBA, TOKIO

Yoritomo died in 1199. His direct descendants did not long survive him, and the authority which he exercised fell

**Rulers in the
Middle Ages.**

into the hands of the Hojo family, who held it for 114 years. Under them the dual became a triple form of government. None of the Hojo ever assumed the title of Shogun but acted in the name of puppets whom they caused to be nominated by the Emperor to that dignity, so that, while the heads of the Hojo family were the actual rulers of the state, they acted in the names of helpless Shoguns who derived their authority from the equally helpless Emperors. The Hojo were ousted by the Ashikaga and the Shogunate became vested in members of that family for 240 years (1333-1573). Then what may be called an interregnum ensued when there was no Shogun, and the government was successively exercised by two great soldiers and statesmen, Nobunaga (1573-1582), and Hideyoshi (1582-1598). On Hideyoshi's death, all power came into the hands of Tokugawa Iyeyasu, also soldier and statesman, the title of Shogun was revived in his favour after thirty years' abeyance, and he and his descendants continued to hold it until 1868, and are known as the Tokugawa Shoguns.

The great events of history during the six centuries of the existence of the Shogunate were the defeat by the Hojo of the

**Great
Historical
Events.**

Mongol invasion of Kublai Khan in 1281; the successful introduction of Christianity in the last half of the sixteenth century and its extermination by one of the most relentless persecutions that the world has ever seen in the first half of the seventeenth century; the invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi (1592-1598), and the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 with a fleet of United States warships which eventuated in the opening of Japan to European intercourse. The domestic history was one of peace and progress under the Hojo, of almost unbroken civil war under the Ashikaga, and, after their downfall, of alternating peace and war until Iyeyasu finally consolidated his power in 1615. From that year the Empire

enjoyed unbroken peace, both foreign and domestic. After the extermination of Christianity within its borders, a policy was adopted of isolation from all the world. Portuguese and Spanish, who for more than half a century had carried on a prosperous trade, were expelled and Japanese were forbidden on pain of death to leave their own shores, Europeans equally forbidden to land on them. An exception was made only in favour of a few Dutchmen who were permitted, under the most humiliating conditions, to carry on a small factory at Nagasaki. Otherwise Japan had no connection with the outer world, and knew and cared nothing for all that was happening beyond her own borders.

"Self-supplying in all their own requirements, both luxuries and necessities, enjoying unbroken security from foreign and domestic wars, well and firmly governed, the Japanese were united and peaceable, taught to give due worship to the gods, due obedience to the laws, due submission to their superiors, due love and regard to their neighbours, civil, obliging, virtuous, in art and industry exceeding all other nations, possessed of an excellent country, enriched by mutual trade and commerce among themselves, courageous and abundantly provided with all the necessities of life." (KAEMPFER.)

But while happy and contented in themselves, they stood still while the civilisation of the West was advancing by leaps and bounds, and when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the representatives of that civilisation demanded, in terms which admitted no denial, that the doors of the closed land should be opened to them, Japan was as she had been in the days of Iyeyasu, ignorant of all modern military and economic science, of international law or custom, of the strength and resources of all the countries of the West, while the messengers of those countries who now came to her in their heavily-armed steamships were very different persons to the suppliant traders of the seventeenth century, who, with no naval strength to back or protect them, made their long perilous voyages to the Eastern seas. Japan was, when her isolation was first broken, like a spoiled and pampered

Ignorance of
Modern
Civilisation.

boy brought up in an indulgent home by weak parents and suddenly launched into a great public school. She had much to undergo before she could profit by the teaching of good masters and hold her own against the bullies of the school of the world in which she suddenly found herself, all of which she might have been spared had it not been for the long-continued fatuous policy of her own rulers.

So long as the Tokugawa Shoguns were able and determined men who inherited some part of the political capacity and energy of their founder, all went well, and the machinery of the state worked smoothly. But, in the progress of time, the Shoguns, relieved from all anxiety as to the security and permanency of their dynasty, relaxed their direct activity in the executive, left everything to their officials and officers, and became, personally, administrative cyphers like the emperors. In actual rank, they were no higher than the great ones among the territorial nobles. The head of the Tokugawa was only the nominal equal of the Lords of Satsuma, Choshu, and other great fiefs. He had greater wealth and military strength than any other single feudatory, perhaps than any two or three combined, and when wealth and strength were directed and handled by genius, courage and industry and supported by the Emperor's commission, they were sufficient to reduce to a position of submission that approached vassalage, and to keep in that position, feudatories who, though proud, powerful, and wealthy, were not sufficiently so to challenge the Shogun single-handed and whose mutual jealousies and hereditary feuds prevented any cordial co-operation among themselves. But when it became evident that the Shogun's dignity and authority rested only on prestige, that the active brain and strong right arm that were essential to their security no longer existed, then the great feudatories began to murmur and to fret under his illegal domination.

There was ample fuel for rebellion which only required a spark to kindle it into fierce flames, and that spark was

The
Tokugawa
Shoguns.

furnished when Commodore Perry, at the head of his fleet, sailed into Yedo Bay and, backed by his men and guns, told the Japanese that their isolation must cease.

**Opening of
Japan to the
World.**

The Shogun's Government, faced by the modern artillery of the great ships that moved so mysteriously against wind and waves, conscious of the military impotency into which Japan had fallen in her long years of peaceful seclusion, yielded. Treaties were concluded with Perry and amplified with Harris, the great civil representative of the United States who followed him, and with Great Britain, France, and other powers, and in 1859, six years after Perry's first appearance, settlements were established in Yokohama, Nagasaki and Hakodate, in which Europeans were trading, not as the Dutch had hitherto done at Nagasaki, submissively, content, if they could only trade, to exist as prisoners and pariahs, but boldly, aggressively, with full liberty to sell and buy how and when they pleased and to seek health and pleasure in unrestricted wanderings in a measured but liberal area around their settlements.

Japan was the land of the gods, a land that only the descendants of the gods were worthy to occupy. The Shogun

**First Years
of Foreign
Intercourse.**

had unworthily permitted the divine land to be polluted by the feet of the despised foreigners, and he was hated for what he had done by the Imperial court at Kioto, by every Feudatory and Samurai who was not of his own relatives or dependents, throughout the whole country. To the moral causes for hatred very material ones were added. All prices rose to a degree that had never been heard of before. With the markets of the world open to them, producers obtained prices for their wares that were fivefold higher than any they had ever got in the days of seclusion. Traders, silk and tea producers, artists and artisans became rich beyond their wildest dreams, but the nobles and samurai suffered and ascribed all their sufferings to the weak, cowardly usurping

Government at Yedo. The rebellion broke out. Satsuma, Choshiu and other great feudatories united their arms and, after two hundred and fifty years of peace, there was once more civil war, the rallying cry of the rebels being "Honour the Emperor and expel the barbarians" (*Sanno joi*). Even in the Shogun's own court councils were divided. Some of the greatest of his supporters were as bitterly opposed to the admission of foreigners as the worst of his enemies. Others knew it could not be prevented and, therefore, made the best of it. But their plight was pitiable. On the one hand were the newly-arrived foreigners demanding their Treaty Rights in no uncertain tones; on the other, the Emperor, the nation, and some of their own friends demanding that the foreigners should be driven out by force. They had new complications and troubles when inoffensive Europeans were ruthlessly murdered in public streets, and the British Legation in the capital was twice attacked by armed bands of conservative fanatics eager to murder all its inmates; when Satsuma first and Choshiu afterwards threw down the gauntlet of defiance, Satsuma to the British, and Choshiu to the allied fleets of Great Britain, France, the United States and Holland, and had to be taught at Kagoshima and Shimonoseki the bitter lesson that they could not murder British subjects nor fire on European ships with impunity. For every wrong that was done by their domestic enemies the distracted Government of the Shogun, entirely innocent as it might be, was held responsible by European sufferers and made to pay the heavy penalty.

At last, weary with the whole struggle, defeated at every point, and recognising that the dual system of government which had sufficed for Japan in the days of her isolation was out of place now that she had been dragged on to the stage of the world, in 1868, the last of the Shoguns, Tokugawa Keiki, the fifteenth of the line which Iyeyasu had founded in 1603, resigned his office and restored to the Emperor the executive Government

End of the
Shogunate.

of which his ancestors had been deprived by Yoritomo in 1192. Then the Revolution was over, a new order had arisen and the future destinies of the Empire came under the personal supervision of the Emperor. We shall in subsequent pages refer to this as the Restoration, the restoration to the legitimate Emperor of the full executive authority of the nation that was wielded by his early ancestors.

The outlook that faced the new Government was far, very far, from promising. Japan had had ten years of foreign

intercourse. But the officials who conducted it had all been adherents of the Shogun, and had gone with him, many to death, the others to retirement. **After the Restoration.** The officials of the new Government, with the exception of a few youthful subordinates who had had a brief period of study in Europe, had neither knowledge nor experience of Europeans and their ways, and they had come into power with the cry "Expel the barbarian." They had promised their countrymen, who had supported them with their swords, their money and their moral influence, that the weak policy of the Shogun should be reversed and their country freed from the contamination to which he had subjected it. They had now to eat their own words. They found, when they were in office, that against the foreigner they were even more helpless than the Shogun had been. They had neither army nor navy. They had no money and there was no national revenue. Internal peace was restored, but the embers of rebellion and hatred were still smouldering. The Emperor, to whom the nation looked for guidance, was a boy of sixteen years of age, who had succeeded his father in the previous year and had never been beyond his palace walls. The people, apart from the court and the outcasts, were composed of two classes—one of the nobles and samurai accustomed to rule and to scorn all productive labour; the other of the toilers and workers whose mission in life it was to furnish the necessities and luxuries of their superiors, whom long subjection had reduced to a condition of mental and



GATE OF IYEYASU'S TOMB, AT NIKKO

political serfdom, who were utterly destitute of any consciousness of right or freedom. It seemed to be equally hopeless either to impose upon the samurai any conception of their duties to the nation or to imbue the commoners with any conception of their rights as free citizens. Few statesmen in the history of the world have ever had to face a more formidable task than that which confronted the young Emperor's advisers. None have ever more speedily carried their task to a triumphal issue.

The old rallying cry was abandoned. Instead of driving out Europeans, the new Government was hardly in office when it proclaimed that European intercourse should be encouraged, that European civilisation and the sciences in which Europe was so far in advance of Japan—military, social, and political—must be acquired so that Japan could be on a level with the foremost of European powers. The decree, issued in the Emperor's name, sworn to by him as the guiding principle of his policy, was accepted by the nation, not without some more bloodshed, and the career of reform began, its first step being taken in regard to the throne and court.

**First Steps
of the New
Government.**

It was determined that Yedo should continue to be, as it had been, the seat of the executive Government, and that it should be the nominal as well as the real capital; that its name should be changed to

**Early
Reforms.**

Tokio—the Eastern capital—and that the Emperor should reside in it, no longer, as at Kioto, hidden behind a screen throughout his life, but taking an active interest in his subjects, openly receiving those whose rank entitled them to audience, and visible to all when he went beyond his palace gates. The samurai were told that they could no longer be drones living on the earnings of others, and the commoners that they were in future to be eligible, if they fitted themselves for it, for employment in all the offices of state, whether civil or military. Greatest of all reforms was the abolition of feudalism. The great territorial nobles,

among whom the land of the Empire had hitherto been parcelled out in fiefs, surrendered both their estates and their functions to the Emperor, and in place of more than two hundred semi-independent governments, which were absolutely autonomous in all that related to their internal administration, not only in their executive functions, but even in legislation and coinage, a strong central Government was established at Tokio and a uniform system of administration carried out, not by officials locally born and bred, but by officers appointed by the central Government and acting in its name. All class privileges and disabilities were abolished ; permission was given for all Japanese to go abroad for purposes of study ; the foundation was laid of a national army, recruited by conscription, owing its allegiance to the Emperor ; the first steps were taken towards the creation of a navy, and expert teachers, carefully chosen from the principal countries of the world, were engaged to direct the initiation of great domestic improvements. From England, railway, telegraph, engineering, mint and naval experts were obtained ; from the United States, educational and postal experts ; from Germany, medical ; and from France, military. The work that was done by these experts will be described in the chapters relating to their several fields of occupation.

The great objects of the ministers were to educate the people so that they should be fitted for the exercise of the privileges of a constitutional government ;
National Policy. to raise Japan to the status of a military power strong enough not only to secure her immunity against the aggressive powers of the West, but to make her a factor in the international councils of the world ; and to develop the industrial capacity of the people so that they would be able to provide the means for the support of the Government that was undertaking all these great measures. All these object were preliminary to the achievement of two others : the abolition of exterritoriality and the safety of Korea. When the first Treaties were concluded by the

Shogun's Government with the European powers, one of the clauses provided for the exemption of Europeans resident in Japan from the jurisdiction of Japanese law and authority and their subjection only to the laws of their own countries, administered by their own officials. The Shogun's Government, in its ignorance of international law and custom, had unhesitatingly made this concession, but the conditions of Japan at the time made it as absolutely essential as it was in all other Oriental countries from Turkey to China. The Emperor's Ministers soon learnt that this system of extritoriality was derogatory to their country, and placed it on an international status far below that which was enjoyed by civilised powers, no matter how weak and insignificant they might be, and from the very first the thought of how their country should be relieved from this stigma was ever present to their minds. Their second object was to secure that Korea should not fall into the hands of any European power which might afterwards make it a basis of attack on Japan herself. It may be said that these two objects were the foundation of all Japanese policy since 1871, and it was with the view of their attainment that every reform was carried out.

Our space does not permit us to trace the development of Japan's progress from her position in 1871 as a weak and insignificant country, at discord within her own borders, financially almost a bankrupt, destitute of military or naval strength, a large section of her people still sunk in the most bigoted conservative prejudice, a still larger section in what was no better than mental serfdom, to that of a great constitutional, military and commercial power which she occupies among the nations of the world at the present day. The principal reforms will be described in the subsequent chapters in this volume which specially treat of them, and here we can only refer to them in the most general terms. Some have already been mentioned ; as to others, the European calendar was adopted in 1873, and in the same year the inhibition was removed from

**Further
Reforms.**

the profession of Christianity which had been maintained for the first five years of the Emperor's reign, and had been accompanied by a persecution of native Christians which, though free from the horrors of that of the seventeenth century, was still bitter. Torture in criminal trials, though not at once wholly abolished, was relieved of its worst forms. A uniform national currency was put in circulation and a national system of universal education was organised.

In 1890, the Constitution, prepared with great labour and after profound study of all the systems of constitutional governments in Europe, was put into force, and the first Parliament of Japan was opened by the Emperor in person. It had been preceded by local assemblies, in which the people, both as members and voters, had been prepared in some degree for the exercise of their Imperial Constitutional functions. In 1899 the system of extritoriality was finally abolished, and all Europeans resident in Japan then became subject to Japanese courts and Japanese law precisely as were the natives themselves. In making this concession to Japan, England took the lead by signing in 1894 the first of the new Treaties which abrogated those made by the Shogun, and where England led the way, other Western Powers had perforce to follow, as English interests were not only predominant but, at the time, equal to the aggregate of those of all other powers, in her trade and shipping, the number of her subjects resident and the money which they had invested in Japan.

In securing the immunity of Korea from European aggression, Japan fought two great wars, the first against China in 1894, and the second against Russia in 1904,

Korea. in both of which unbroken success attended her arms, both on sea and land. As their result, she freed Korea from the influence of China, which had been exerted to maintain Korea in her ancient methods of government, and from the danger, which until then had

hung over her as a dark cloud, of falling a helpless prey to the territorial ambition of Russia.

Before testing the final arbitrament of war with China, Japan had long diplomatic negotiations with both China and Korea in her efforts to secure by peaceful

**Relations
with Korea.**

means what she did in the end by war. She had, from the earliest periods of her history, relations with Korea which had been continued, with intervals of more or less length, down to the present age. Twice she had made war on Korea, once in the mythical period of her history and once again at the close of the sixteenth century, but had since the last war maintained relations which, though not very intimate, were peaceful. Korea had terminated these in a manner which was both insulting and contemptuous when Japan adopted Western civilisation, and had intimated her own intention to adhere rigidly to the old system of Chinese civilisation and to the policy of national isolation, which could only result in the continuance of her helplessness *vis-à-vis* Western powers. Japan broke through this isolation in 1876 by forcing her to conclude a treaty under which the country became open to Japanese trade and residence, following in doing so, in almost every detail, the precedent set in her own case when Commodore Perry drew her out of her national isolation. Western Powers soon followed on the footsteps of Japan, and under similar treaties obtained access to the country for their citizens, and Korea's isolation was ended. But all that had occurred in the early days of Japan's own European intercourse was repeated in Korea, where the Japanese officials endeavoured to exercise the influence of the British Minister in their own capital in the early days of European intercourse. They endeavoured to overcome prejudice and ignorance and to show Korea how essential it was that she should enter upon the same paths of reform on which Japan was so successfully progressing and they met with the same obstinate resistance that the British Minister did in Yedo (Tokio) before the great period of reform that followed

the restoration of the Emperor. As had been the British Legation in Yedo, so was the Japanese Legation in Seoul twice attacked, its inmates driven out, and the Legation destroyed by Korean mobs of conservative fanatics, whose superiority in number to those of the assailants of the British Legation in Yedo enabled them to achieve success where the latter had failed. Japan learnt the lesson which was given to her, but after more than thirty years' vain efforts on her part to bring Korea into line with modern thought and progress, Korea's social condition was almost as hopeless as it had been at the beginning. Then Japan, justified by both her military strength, which gave her the means of carrying out what she desired, and by opportunity, took the last great step in her national policy and, in the year 1910, finally annexed to the dominions of the Emperor the whole of the ancient kingdom of Korea, thereby increasing his dominions by a country of 80,000 square miles, with a population of fifteen million people, and thus adding enormously both to the prospective wealth and to the military strength of the Empire.

The China war gave Japan the island of Formosa ; the Russian war gave her Port Arthur and its neighbourhood in the south of the Liao Tung Peninsula and part of the island of Saghalin, and her Emperor therefore now rules over dominions far more extensive than those which his father did at the Restoration. He also rules over a people who are absolutely harmonious and united among themselves ; whose devotion to his throne, his dynasty, and their country exceeds the highest ideals of the most fervid loyalty and patriotism that have ever been seen in other parts of the world ; who are brave, industrious, intelligent, and all of whom are fully conscious of their rights as citizens of a Constitutional Empire and of the respect that is due to the Empire as one of the great Powers of the world. What they were at the Restoration has been previously indicated in this chapter.

**The Present
Empire.**

CHAPTER III

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

MUTSUHITO,¹ Emperor of Japan, was the 121st of the Imperial line, which has reigned in unbroken succession throughout over twenty-five centuries. It is difficult to convey to the European mind an adequate conception of the position which the Emperor on the throne of Japan holds in the minds of his subjects or of the degree of reverential awe with which, in the present days of materialism, he continues to be invested, not only as the Vicegerent on earth of the gods in heaven, but as being, in virtue of his divine descent, a god incarnate who rules, guides and guards his people with the infallible wisdom and inexhaustible love that can only be possessed by one who has inherited the attributes of omnipotent and benevolent ancestors in heaven. We reverence our King and devout Roman Catholics implicitly accept the decrees of the Pope, but to the Japanese their Emperor is more than King and Pope combined. He is their heavenly father, present with them on earth to share in all their joys and sorrows, to whose guidance and support all they achieve is solely due. He rules over a Constitutional Empire with legislatures vested with very extensive powers, but his word and will are still law. Against neither has even a murmur of opposition ever been raised, and no matter what may be the political crisis, what the spirit or wishes of any section or of all the people, the Emperor has still only to say "This shall or shall not be done," and unquestioning, absolute obedience follows at once on the part of the highest and lowest.

¹ The Emperor Mutsuhito died on July 30th, 1912, and the Empress Haruko on April 11th, 1914. The reader is referred to the preface to the present edition of this work for a description of the changes consequent on the Emperor's death.

Never once throughout the long history of Japan has the supreme authority of the Emperors been questioned. During all the centuries, in which they were reduced to political and administrative impotence by successive dynasties of military usurpers, they still remained theoretically the final source of

**Supreme
Authority.**

all executive authority, and the sole fountain of honour. No act, not even of the most powerful and arbitrary Regent, backed though he was by irresistible military strength and efficiency, was valid unless he was fortified by the commission of the Emperor, who had not a single soldier to enforce his own commands. Military leaders, who held the commission, were always loyalists, though they might overturn all existing government. Those who did not, were always rebels, though they held the reins of the government in their own hands. And as it was in the past in the days of military domination and universal feudalism, so it is in the present. The prestige of the Imperial throne is still unimpaired. The most truculent and outspoken Radical, saturated with the ideas of and anxious to enforce the Rights of the People, still bows his head in silent submission when the Emperor speaks, at whose word all the most bitter struggles of party antagonism are at once stilled and the policy which he, in his infinite wisdom, enjoins is followed without a murmur of opposition.

Nothing can better signify the estimation in which he is held by his subjects than the titles by which he is ordinarily described by them. Of titles he has many.

Titles.

Mikado, that which is best known to us, means "August Door," and corresponds to the "Sublime Porte"; Kotei, translated Emperor, is the Japanese rendering of the Chinese title Hwang Ti, which means the King of Kings; Kinri, Dairi and Chotei all describe the palace (the last means literally the Hall of Audience in the palace), but are extended to signify the Emperor personally. None of these terms are in common use, the titles by which the Emperor is most frequently mentioned among his subjects



THE EMPEROR YOSHIHITO
When Imperial Crown Prince

being either Tenno, the Heavenly King, or Tenshi, the Son of Heaven, and both imply his divine descent, his all-seeing wisdom, and his supreme authority.

The Emperor Mutsuhito was born at Kioto on November 3rd, 1852, and succeeded his father, the Emperor Komei, on February 3rd, 1867, just on the eve of the

Life and
Character.

Revolution which destroyed the Shogunate. No sovereign was ever better served by able and devoted ministers, who, in his early years, successfully carried his country through all the *sturm und drang* of the last stages of the revolutionary wars and laid the foundation of its present status as a great military and commercial power. From an early period of his reign, from the attainment of the years of full manhood, he gave evidence of a strong character and determined will, of untiring industry, and of what is perhaps the most valuable quality in a monarch, the capacity to judge men, to select the best as his advisers, and having chosen them, to give them his fullest confidence.

It may be safely said that there is not one reform in all the many that have been so successfully accomplished, whether

Personal
Description.

in the military or in the civil affairs of his Empire, which did not receive his consideration and approval at its inception, and was not followed by him throughout all its stages with active and intelligent interest. Personally, he was taller and more robust in figure than the majority of his subjects, his complexion was dark and his features pronounced, rarely if ever lighted by a smile, always coldly impassive and never failing for a moment in the austere dignity that is natural to one whose ancestry is traced to heaven. He was seen by the writer under many and varied conditions, in the social functions of the court on many new-year days; on his silver-wedding day; at his garden parties, and at smaller and more intimate receptions; at reviews, when his soldiers, passing before him in their well-drilled formation, no doubt filled him with pride at the thought that their efficiency owed much to his own

initiative and interest in them ; and once, many years ago, in his principal dockyard, when the miscarriage of an ambitious casting sent a shower of red-hot metal fragments around where he was seated, and he was one of the very few who never stirred from his place. On all occasions he was, as far as outward expression went, unchanged and unmoved. And yet his eyes, keenly watchful of all around him, always showed that his interest was very living, and his words, unsuggested by bystanding courtiers, that both his knowledge and his memory were worthy of a sovereign who actively shared in both the executive and social life of his Government. He had in a very eminent degree, the royal faculty of not forgetting not only the faces of even the humblest of those who were presented to him, but the interests which were most peculiar to each. He may not have inspired in Europeans the love which the geniality of our late King won for himself from many who were not his own subjects. He certainly did inspire all Europeans, whom he honoured with interviews that were not hedged with rigid formalities, with respect for his intelligence and with pride at his recognition of their own personal interests.

The succession to the throne and all matters relating to the entire Imperial Family are regulated by the "Imperial House Law," which is supplementary to the Constitution and was passed in 1889 under the Emperor's sign-manual. It declared that "the Imperial Throne of Japan, enjoying the grace of Heaven and everlasting from ages eternal in an unbroken line of succession, has been transmitted through successive reigns," and that while "the fundamental rules of the Imperial Family were established, once for all, when the foundations of the Empire were laid and are even at this day as bright as the celestial luminaries," it was desired "to establish a House Law for posterity by which the Imperial House should be founded in everlasting strength and its dignity for ever maintained." It provides for the succession to the throne

Law of
Succession.

by male descendants in the male line, by the Imperial eldest son or the Imperial eldest grandson, by younger sons of the Emperor in order of birth, failing an eldest son or grandson, by the Emperor's brother or his descendants or by his uncle or his descendants, or, failing all these, by the nearest member of the Imperial Family. Two ancient customs are thus departed from : Empresses were not formerly excluded from the throne—seven have actually reigned, the latest from 1763 to 1771—nor were adopted sons, nor, failing issue from the Empress, the sons of the Imperial concubines. Henceforth, the succession is limited to male descendants of "absolute lineage." On the other hand, the Empress or a princess may still be regent, during the minority or permanent incapacity of the Emperor from illness, if there is no prince of age or capacity to undertake the duties.

Since the seventh century of the Christian Era, the Imperial consorts have been chosen from the ladies of the great Fujiwara family, the highest and proudest in the old nobility of Japan, whose founder, like the Emperor himself, traced his descent to the Gods of Heaven. The Empress Haruko, who was married early in the year 1869, when both Emperor and Empress were in the nineteenth year of their ages, was of the Ichijo branch of the family. In every line of her features the Empress displayed the intellectual, refined and aristocratic characteristics of those who trace an unmixed descent from the highest nobility of old Japan, which are better preserved in the women than in the men of their present-day representatives. In stature she was rather below the average of Japanese women, presenting in this respect a contrast to the Emperor, but all her movements were characterised by the infinite grace and dignity that were becoming to her rank, and to one whose progenitors have from time immemorial been the proudest in the land.

The seclusion of the Empresses in the old Imperial court at Kioto was naturally even more rigid than that of the Emperors.

A longer period was required to shake off the traditions of antiquity after the Restoration in the case of the Empress than in that of the Emperor, and during the earlier years of the late reign, the Empress Haruko still remained "behind the curtain."

**The Empress's
Part in
Public Life.**

But many had not elapsed before she began to take a woman's part in public functions, and the people had the opportunity of gazing on her as well as on the Emperor. From the time that she did so, she was foremost in encouraging every work of charity both with her purse and with her personal interest and presence, whether permanent in the promotion of hospitals and of the great Red Cross Society, or temporary when earthquake, pestilence, fire or flood brought widespread calamity, as in Japan they often do, on large sections of local sufferers. Still more did she play a great part in the advancement of female education, and whatever has been achieved in this respect, and it will be seen later on that much has been done, is due to a very large extent to the interest which she took in it and the time and intelligence which she devoted to it. Japan is rightly proud of the many women who, either on the Imperial throne or in the lower ranks of life, have played great parts in her history. Perhaps the greatest, when the mythological Empress Jingo is excluded, was Masago, the wife of Yoritomo. She was the Queen Elizabeth of Japan. In a different sphere the present Empress's name will be writ on the pages of history in no less bright characters as the Empress who realised in her life and person the highest ideals of womanly kindness, devotion, and duty, as the Queen Victoria of Japan.

There are in all thirteen princely families who, together with the Emperor and Empress, the Grand-Dowager and the Dowager Empress, if alive, the Crown Prince and Princess, and the Imperial eldest grandson and his princess, compose "The Imperial Family." They are divided into two classes—the Shinno or Imperial Princes and the O or Princes. The term O means

**Princely
Families.**



THE EMPRESS SHOKEN

prince or king—a king who is subordinate to a suzerain, such for example as was the King of Korea when Korea was still subject to China's tutelage. Shin literally means "nearly related," but it is the same term used to describe, among other things, the Imperial Guards—Shimpei—the soldiers who are closely attached to the Emperor, and is usually translated Imperial. Miya literally means palace but, translated prince, is a general term applied to all princes, whether Imperial or not. Formerly only the sons of a reigning emperor, whether born of the Empress or a concubine or even if only adopted, were Shinno. Their sons became O, and their sons again descended still lower in rank and ultimately became simple nobles among whom they and their descendants were thenceforward included, with the consequence that while the class of princes could never become unduly large, a great number of the nobles of the Empire can trace their descent to Imperial ancestors. Some alteration has been made in this custom. Now the eldest son, both of a Shinno or of an O, succeeds to his father's rank and title, only the younger sons gradually descending as formerly in the social scale, with the limitation that, in the fifth generation, even the eldest son of a Shinno also becomes an O.

At present there are three families of Shinno, the Imperial Princes of Fushimi, Kwanin and Higashi Fushimi, the first of whom and the last have paid state visits to England, the Prince of Fushimi, when returning Prince Arthur of Connaught's Garter Mission to Japan, and the Prince of Higashi

Imperial
Princes. Fushimi at the Coronation of his present Majesty. The succession to the throne is limited, in the event of failure in the direct line, to the members of these families, in the order in which they have been named.

The house of Fushimi was founded by the son of the Emperor Suiko (1349-1352), and the present head is the twenty-first of his line. The house is remarkable, as from it have sprung all the other princes, of both degrees, all of whom claim

descent from its founder. The eighteenth Prince of the line, Sadayoshi, had four sons, the eldest of whom, Prince Kuni-iye, succeeded him, and the other three founded the new princely houses of Yamashina, Nashimoto and Kuni. Prince Kuni-iye had fourteen sons, nine of whom became the heads of houses. The second succeeded him, becoming the twentieth prince of Fushimi, and he, having no children, was succeeded by his seventh brother, who is the present prince. The eldest son founded the house of Kita Shirakawa, the third that of Komatsu, and the fifth that of Kwacho. The first Prince of Kita Shirakawa, was succeeded in turn by two of his brothers, the fourth and sixth sons of Kuni-iye; the eighth son succeeded as the sixth Imperial prince of Kwanin, and the ninth as the second Imperial Prince of Higashi Fushimi. The present heads of the three Imperial princely houses of Fushimi, Kwanin and Higashi Fushimi, and those of the princely houses of Yamashina, Nashimoto, Kuni, Kita Shirakawa and Kwacho are, therefore, direct descendants by blood of Prince Sadayoshi, and all have the Emperor Suiko as their common remote ancestor.

The house of Kwanin was founded by a son of the Emperor Higashi Yama (1687-1710). The founder was followed by four successors of his own blood, but the fifth head of the house being childless adopted and was succeeded by the present holder of the title, Prince Kotohito, one of the younger sons of Prince Kuni-iye. The last Imperial princely house is that of Higashi Fushimi, the history of which is somewhat peculiar. The title was originally conferred after the Restoration on Prince Akihito, the third son of Prince Kuni-iye, who played a distinguished part in the latest stages of the civil war. While holding this title, Prince Akihito adopted his brother Yorihiro, thirteen years younger than himself, as his heir, but subsequently another title, that of Komatsu, was conferred on him, and that which he originally

Prince of
Fushimi.

The Princes of
Kwanin and
Higashi Fushimi.

held passed at once to his adopted heir, who accordingly became the second Prince of Higashi Fushimi. The Prince of Komatsu died in 1903, and being childless, and his adopted heir being already in possession of another title of equal degree, that of Komatsu, as an Imperial Princedom, became extinct, but it has been revived as that of a Marquisate, in the ranks of the ordinary nobility, which has been conferred by the Emperor on the youngest son of the late Prince of Kita Shirakawa.

The late Prince of Komatsu was the first member of the Imperial family who ever left the shores of Japan throughout all the long ages of its history. In 1870, immediately after the Restoration, he came to England and passed three years here, living the life of a simple student. In later years he

The late Prince
of Komatsu.

twice again visited England but under very different circumstances, on the first occasion as the official representative of the Emperor at the first Jubilee of Queen Victoria, and on the second, in a similar capacity, at the coronation of King Edward. The story of his boyhood illustrates a time-honoured custom in the Imperial family. The question will no doubt present itself to some readers of these pages, How is it that there are apparently no surviving representatives of the younger sons of Emperors who have reigned later than the Emperor Higashi Yama? From an early period in history, it was the custom to devote the younger sons of the Emperors to the priesthood, a career which entailed a life of celibacy. A two-fold object was attained thereby. There could be no rival claimants to the throne, no civil disturbance created, such as occurred in the Middle Ages, by a successful military adventurer proclaiming a cadet of the legitimate family as Emperor in violation of the rights of the Imperial sovereign, and the princes, for whom no adequate provision could, in the days of the Shogunate, be made by the poverty-stricken court at Kioto, were, when their clerical training was completed, endowed with rich benefices, in which their lives were passed

in monastic seclusion from the world but in ease and luxury. In accordance with this custom, the late Prince Akihito was, in his early boyhood, consigned to be trained as a Buddhist priest to the monastery of Ninnaji in Kioto, an old and rich foundation which had been constituted by Imperial decree a benefice for priests of Imperial birth, and had already been successively ruled by thirty-three princely abbots when Prince Akihito entered it as a novice. The Restoration soon came and brought with it entirely new prospects for all the members of the Imperial family ; and the young novice flung aside the scriptures and the coif and became a soldier, and ultimately one of Japan's bravest and most skilful generals and commander-in chief of all the forces in the field in the China War.

Another Imperial Princedom has also lately become extinct by the death on July 10th, 1913, of Prince Takehito, whose

full description was Takehito Shinno, Arisugawa no Miya, The Imperial Prince Takehito, Prince of Arisugawa.

The late Prince of Arisugawa. Prince of Arisugawa, a prince who was well known in England, having served as a youth in the British Navy, and having on two occasions made State visits to England. The house of Arisugawa was founded by Prince Yoshihito, the son of the Emperor Go Yozei (1587-1612). The second head of the house was the son of the Emperor Go Mizuo (1612-1630), the third and fourth the son and grandson of the Emperor Go Komiyo (1644-1654), the fifth the son of the Emperor Reigen (1663-1687), and then followed five princes, all directly descended from the Emperor Reigen, the last Prince having been the tenth head of the house, to which he succeeded on the death of his brother in the year 1894. Though the title has, for the time being, become extinct, the last prince's only son, a cadet in the Imperial navy, having predeceased his father, it is believed that it will be revived in favour of one of the two younger sons of the present Emperor on his attaining full age.

There are still four princely houses to be mentioned : Kayo,

Takeda, Asaka and Higashi Kuni, and the heads of these are also scions of the Fushimi and direct blood descendants of Prince Sadayoshi. The houses of Kayo, Higashi Kuni and Asaka were founded by his grandsons, all the sons of Asahiko, first Prince of Kuni, and that of Takeda by the son of the third Prince of Kita Shirakawa, who descended from the eldest son of Sadayoshi. In speaking of the founding of these several houses, it is to be remembered that, in each instance, the new title was conferred by the Emperor, and that it was from his grant that the houses derived their existence.

Other Princely Families.

The genealogy of all the Princes is shown in the appended table in which the names of the Imperial princes are printed in capital letters. It will be readily inferred from

Adoption in the Imperial Family.

the table how largely the Japanese custom of adoption has been observed in the Imperial family, strictly confined, however, to members by birth of the family. Moriosa, the first Prince of Nashimoto, had no sons, so he adopted his nephew Morimasa, the third son of his younger brother Asahiko, and was succeeded by him, not in the full rank of Imperial prince, but in the lower one of prince. Of Prince Asahiko's other sons, one, the second, it will be seen, succeeded him; three founded new houses and one still remains without a territorial title, possibly being intended to succeed his brother should the latter die without issue. The peculiarities of Japanese succession, as influenced by adoption, are illustrated in the case of the house of Kita Shirakawa. The house was founded, in his father's lifetime, by the eldest son of Prince Kuni-iye, and the founder accordingly resigned his heirship to his father's house, to which two of his younger brothers, the second and the seventh in the table, succeeded in turn. The first Prince of Kita Shirakawa was also succeeded in turn by two other brothers, not in the order of their seniority of birth, the fifth brother immediately succeeding the eldest and being followed by the third, the successor in all these instances having

Emperor Suiko (1349-1352),

son Yoshihito, 1st Prince of Fushimi.

SADAYOSHI, 18th Prince of Fushimi.

KUNILVE,
19th Prince
of Fushimi.

AKIRA,
1st Prince
of Yamashina.

MOTOSA,
1st Prince
of Nashimoto.

ASAHIKO,
1st Prince
of Kuni.

YOSHIKOTO,
1st Prince
of Kita
Shirakawa.

AKIHITO,
1st Prince
of Komatsu.

YOSHIHISA,
3rd Prince
of Kita
Shirakawa.

HIROTSUNE,
1st Prince
of Kwacho.

NORINARI,
2nd Prince
of Kita
Shirakawa.

SADANARU,
21st and
present
Prince of
Fushimi.

KOTOHITO,
6th and
present
Prince of
Kwanin.

YORIHITO,
2nd and
present
Prince of
Higashi Fushimi.

Tsunehira,
1st Prince
of Takeda.

Narihisa,
4th and
present
Prince of
Kita Shirakawa.

Teruhisa,
Marquis
Komatsu.

Hiroyoshi,
Prince.

Hirotsada,
2nd and
present
Prince of
Kwacho.

Hironobu,
Prince.

Hiroyasu
Prince.

Kikunaru,
2nd Prince of
Yamashina.

Takehiko,
3rd and
present
Prince of
Yamashina.

Kunimaru,
Prince.

Fujimaru,
Prince.

Hagemaru,
Prince.

Kuninori,
1st Prince of
Kayo.

Kuniyoshi,
2nd and
present
Prince of
Kuni.

Motomasa,
2nd and
present
Prince of
Nashimoto.

Takao,
Prince.

Yasuhiko,
1st Prince of
Asaka.

Naruhiko,
1st Prince of
Higashi Kuni.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE JAPANESE PRINCES

been adopted as son and heir by a childless predecessor. The last named left three sons, the first of whom, on his marriage to the eldest daughter of the present Emperor, founded the new house of Takeda, the second succeeded his father, and the youngest, as already indicated, has been created a marquis and subsided into the ordinary nobility. Other instances of adoption will easily be seen on study of the table.

The ties of relationship that exist between the princes of both degrees are very involved, and while we have endeavoured to explain them as fully as our space and the very limited authorities that are available in London permit, some study will be required before they can be clearly apprehended from the material which we have placed at the disposal of our readers. The Japanese princes, however, visit England so frequently that the subject has sufficient interest to be worthy of more than a passing consideration. At the Coronation of King George many people were puzzled in distinguishing between the Prince Fushimi, who visited England in state five years ago, and the Prince Higashi Fushimi, who represented his Emperor on this occasion. The two, though heads of different houses are, it will be seen from the table, brothers, both sons of Prince Kuni-iye, but while both descend directly from the Emperor Suiko, the elder is the twenty-first holder of his title and the younger is only the second of his. The blood relationship of the majority of all the princes to the present Emperor is according to our ideas, extremely remote, dating as it does to the first half of the fourteenth century.

All the princes, who are of full age, take a very active part in the national life. The ninth Prince of Arisugawa and the last Prince of Kita Shirakawa sacrificed their lives in the war with China, both dying from illness contracted in the discharge of their duties, the first while Chief of the staff at Hiroshima, the second while in command of the first division of the troops to occupy Formosa. The last Prince of Arisugawa was a

Relationship
between the
Princes.

Public Lives
of the Princes.

distinguished and able admiral, who served as captain in command of an armoured cruiser throughout the China War. Several served in the army throughout both the China and Russian Wars, both as commanders of regiments and in more subordinate ranks. Others are in the navy. All who are of full age are, as princes, members of the House of Peers and entitled to take part in the debates and to vote. All are prominent in the social life of the Empire, both in the purely social functions and in the promotion of works of charity and education, and in all other spheres in which princely patronage and active co-operation are valuable assets. And all are characterised by the frankest geniality of demeanour, and invariably show, in their direct association with both Europeans and their own people, the most tactful and winning courtesy, the last quality being one which they share with their countrymen of every degree, both gentle and simple.

Members of the Imperial Family cannot be arrested or summoned before a court of law except with the consent of the Emperor, and though they can be civilly sued, the process can only be laid in the court of appeal at Tokio and their personal attendance is not required. If their conduct is unworthy of their position, they can be deprived of or suspended from their rank by the Emperor. They are not allowed to marry or adopt without the Emperor's sanction or outside either the circle of the Imperial Family or certain families of the nobility that have been especially approved by Imperial order. The Prince of Takeda is, as already stated, married to the Princess Masako, daughter of the Emperor. The Prince of Fushimi is married to the daughter of the ninth Prince of Arisugawa and the Princes of Higashi Fushimi, Kwanin and Kayo to the daughters of Prince Iwakura, Prince Sanjo and Marquis Daigo, members of the old court nobility of Kyoto and scions of the Fujiwara family, the two first of whom played a great part in the Restoration and were for sixteen years subsequently the Emperor's chief Ministers of State.

**Privileges and
Liabilities
of the Princes.**

The Princes of Kuni and Nashimoto are married to the daughters of Prince Shimadzu and Marquis Nabeshima, the representatives of two of the great feudal lords of former days, both tracing their remote descent to members of the Court nobility.

All the princely houses receive annual allowances from the Civil List, but as these are based on a frugal scale, varying from three thousand to one thousand pounds,

Civil Lists. they are to some degree dependent on the Emperor. The Emperor's own allowance from the Civil List is three hundred thousand pounds, but he has also at his own disposal an additional revenue of double this amount, which is derived from the estates of the Crown and from money invested in public bonds. Both the Emperor and the Princes (the latter when not absent on public service) may be said to reside entirely in Tokio. The Emperor has a palace in Kyoto, and summer palaces in several other places, but his principal palace is in Tokio, and while the latter is on a scale of becoming splendour and all hospitality is conducted with the lavish liberality that is rightly expected from the head of a great people, it may safely be said that no Imperial or Royal Court in the world is characterised in its general administration by greater economy than that of Japan.

CHAPTER IV

THE NOBILITY

Ancient Lineage. THE present nobility, with their titles, adopted from Chinese and translated into English terms, Prince (or Duke), Marquis, Count, Viscount and Baron, originated in the year 1884, but so far from being of mushroom growth, the nobility of Japan exceeds that of every other country in the world in its antiquity and the unbroken genealogy of the majority of its members. Compared with its members, Colonna and Orsini, Courcys, Fitzgeralds, Percys and Howards, it might even be said Guelphs and Hapsburghs, are young families of recent birth. They have been largely recruited, in the present generation, by distinguished soldiers and sailors, by great statesmen and scientists, even by bankers and merchants who were born in the class of commoners, who followed what, in old Japan, was considered the most degrading of all occupations, and who, both as commoners and traders, were, prior to the Restoration, little better than crouching serfs, but the majority still continue to be the descendants of ancestors who lived when the dark ages had just passed away and can trace their descent to the Emperors and, therefore, to the Gods of Heaven.

Nobility prior to the Restoration. Prior to the Restoration there were two classes of nobility, the Kugé (ducal houses) or court nobles, the members of the Emperor's court, and the Buké (military houses) or Daimio (great names), the territorial nobles, the chiefs of the fiefs both great and small into which the Empire was divided, which they ruled almost as independent principalities. As explained in the preceding chapter, the sons and grandsons of the Emperor were all princes, but in former days the princely rank came to an end in the third generation and thenceforward



A KUGE OR NOBLE OF THE IMPERIAL COURT

even the direct descendants of the Emperors became Kugé and were absorbed in the general nobility of the court, either founding new houses themselves or being incorporated in those already existing, with the members of which they were more or less closely allied by blood, at least on the female side. In the progress of time, when feudalism began to rear its head and lands were bestowed as rewards for their services on successful soldiers, who held them as they had won them by the sword, the class of Buké came into existence and as feudalism developed until, under the Tokugawa Shogunate, it acquired its highest perfection of national organisation, this class gradually grew in wealth and power. Many of its most prominent members were themselves descendants from Kugé, who had forsaken the peaceful calm and refined pleasures of the Kyoto Court for soldiers' careers, and had reaped soldiers' rewards, but just as the modern nobility has been recruited by distinguished commoners, so were the Buké, during the long civil wars of the Middle Ages, frequently recruited by successful military adventurers, entirely destitute of any claim to noble birth, who had nothing to recommend them but the swords and wit which had brought them to the front. The Kugé, on the other hand, whose ranks were never recruited except by cadets of the Emperor's own family, preserved their blood and lineage undefiled by vulgar parvenus and both from that fact and from their constant close proximity to the throne, they acquired the status of the first nobles of the Empire, to the poorest and humblest of whom the greatest and proudest of the territorial nobles, feudal chiefs whose revenues were counted in hundreds of thousands, who ruled over armies of thousands of skilled and brave fighting men, everyone of whom held his life always at his lord's disposal, uncomplainingly gave way.

At the Restoration there were 193 Kugé families and 280 Buké families. All had their respective titles, either court or territorial, and the distinction between the two was sharply drawn. On the Restoration, both were merged into one class

under the term Kwazoku, "flower families," which became and remains the generic term for nobles, irrespective of their different ranks. Their old individual titles

**Nobility
after the
Restoration.**

were taken away, and no new ones conferred on them and, while they were called nobles, they had therefore neither name nor title to distinguish them in rank from their fellow-subjects. The proud Kugé, who traced his descent to an Emperor that lived more than a thousand years ago, and the great Daimio who had inherited from his ancestors a whole province, which he governed with unfettered absolutism, now became, like the humblest commoner, simply, to take two most striking examples of the time, Mr. Sanjo or Mr. Shimadzu. The inconvenience and the injustice of such a system were soon felt but neither was remedied till the year 1884, when at last the Emperor issued a rescript in which he declared that special honours should be conferred "on the high-born descendants of illustrious ancestors whose noble deeds are the lustre of the state and on civil and military officers of distinguished service," and that, with that view, he established the "Five Orders of Nobility."

The first list of the members of the new peerage contained 504 names, comprising 11 princes, 24 marquises, 79 counts, 321 viscounts and 69 barons. The large

**First List
of New Peers.**

bestowal of well-earned honours after the China and Russian Wars increased the total number of all ranks to 716 in 1895 and to 912 in 1905, and the present (1911) numbers are 923, comprising 17 princes, 37 marquises, 101 counts, 384 viscounts, and 384 barons. From the first, it was decided by the Japanese that the highest title should be translated "Prince," although the Chinese ideograph in which the term is written is quite different to that employed in the case of a prince of the Imperial Family and in China has always been translated "Duke." No confusion can possibly exist between the two ranks in Japan, either in writing or speaking, but the same is not the case when the

titles are translated into their authorised European equivalents, and it is difficult for a European unacquainted with Japanese to distinguish the respective ranks, for instance, of Prince Hirotsada, the Prince of Kwacho, of the Imperial Family, and of Prince Ito of the ordinary nobility.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to analyse the whole list of the present nobility and we shall therefore confine ourselves to its highest ranks, from

**Composition of
the Three
Highest Orders.** the component items of which an estimate can be formed of the constitution of the whole. At the first creation, the rank of a

prince was conferred only on the highest members of the old nobility, seven Kugé and four great territorial nobles. That of marquis was conferred on twenty-two members of the old nobility, including the ex-King of the Loochoo Islands, but with them were associated two new creations, the eldest sons of Kido and Okubo, the two statesmen who had done most in accomplishing the Restoration and in guiding Japan through the difficulties that beset her in the earliest days of the new Government. Both had died some years before 1884 (Okubo at the hands of assassins), and the honours were therefore conferred on their eldest sons in memory of the fathers' distinguished services. Both fathers had begun their lives as simple samurai, Okubo of the Satsuma and Kido of the Choshu fiefs, and their sons were now made equal in rank with some of the oldest and proudest of the ancient nobility. The first counts included 61 members of the old nobility and 18 "new men," of the same social origin as Kido and Okubo, such as Ito, Inouye, Soyejima, Hijikata, Matsugata and Terashima, statesmen; Kuroda, Yamagata, Saigo, and Oyama, generals; and Kawamura, admiral, some of whose names have since become almost household words in Europe. All the remainder of the old nobility and other "new men" were included in the two lower ranks.

The distinction between the Kugé and the Buké (or Daimio) and the fact that many of the Buké originally sprung from

Kugé families have already been explained. In both classes there were originally many gradations of rank. The principal of those among the Daimio are detailed in the succeeding chapter, and we have now to explain those among the Kugé.

**Gradations
of Rank.**

First among them were what were called the "Sixteen Great Houses," and these again were divided into three categories, the Sekke or the Regent Families, five in number, from among whom a regent of the Empire might be chosen; the Seike or Pure Houses, eight in number, and the Sanke

**The Great
Houses
of the Kugé.**

or Three Houses, the members of both of which were eligible for the chief ministerships of the Empire. In the chapter on History we have mentioned the Fujiwara family and the great part it played in early history. Its founder was Kamatari, Chief Minister of State to the Emperor Tenchi (668-671), the head of the Nakatomi family, whose first ancestor was said to have accompanied the grandson of the Sun Goddess in his descent from heaven, from whom Kamatari was said to be the twenty-first in the direct line of descent. Leaving aside the mythological descent of the Nakatomi, Kamatari was an undoubtedly historic person. He was born in the year 613, at Fujiwara, a district in the province of Yamato, and his long services to the Emperor both during and before his reign, were rewarded with the title taken from the name of his native district. He thus became the founder of the Fujiwara, which has always been considered the noblest of all the noble houses in Japan, in its long descent, in the honours which have been held by its members, and in their rank. Under the Hojo Regents, 600 years later, the family, which had grown to great dimensions, was divided into five, under the titles, taken from districts in Kyoto, of Konoye, Kujo, Nijo, Ichijo and Takatsukasa, and these continued to be the five regent families. Other new families were founded, as years went on, with the titles of Sanjo, Saionji, Tokudaiji, Imadegawa, Oi-mikado and Daigo, the last a cadet of the Ichijo, and these, together with

two other families, Kuga and Hirotada, not connected in the male line with the Fujiwara but whose houses were founded, the first by the son of the Emperor Muragami (947-968), and the second by the son of the Emperor Ojimachi (1558-1587), constituted the Seike.

The first list of princes included the five Sekke and two other Kugé, Sanjo, one of the Seike, and Iwakura, the first of whom and the father of the second were

Princes. respectively the first and second Ministers of State in the early years of the present reign, who had rendered no less distinguished services in the promotion of the Restoration than the more humbly born Kido and Okubo. Iwakura was not of the Fujiwara but of the Minamoto family, which traced its descent from the Emperor Seiwa (859-877). Along with the seven Kugé were included the three great feudal nobles, Tokugawa, heir of the ex-Shogun, whose ancestors were dictators of Japan for two and a half centuries, whose founder Iyeyasu traced his descent, through the Minamoto family, directly to the Emperor Seiwa; Mori, the Lord of Choshu, and Shimazu, the Lord of Satsuma, the latter, like Tokugawa, a scion of the Minamoto, the former a direct descendant of the Emperor Heijo (806-810). The eleventh Prince was the father of the Lord of Satsuma. The latter had succeeded his uncle by adoption and the rank conferred on him, in virtue of his chieftainship of one of the greatest of the old fiefs, was also conferred on his father who had directed the policy of the fief at the time of the Restoration and had played a great part in all the events that attended it. It will be seen that all the first princes were of the very bluest blood that Japan could produce, all claiming a lineage that was coeval with authentic history, for all except the Fujiwara sprang from the Imperial stock. One addition has since been made from the Kugé, Tokudaiji, one of the eight Seike, originally created a marquis, having been advanced to the higher rank and another has been made from the Tokugawa family. In 1902, the ex-Shogun, who had lived

in strict retirement since his deposition, was, as a special mark of the Emperor's favour, also granted the title of Prince, already held by his son. There were, therefore, two Prince Tokugawas and two Prince Shimadzus, distinguished from each other by their personal names, Prince Iyesato and Yoshihisa Tokugawa and Prince Sadashige and Chusai Shimadzu. It was not until after the Russian War that the barrier of blood broke down and the highest rank in the peerage was opened to the three men, Ito, Yamagata and Oyama, who had done most to ensure Japan's triumph in the war, and to win for her the position which she has attained in the comity of nations as a constitutional and military Power. All three were included in the first counts to be created, and were made marquises after the China War. In the year 1911 the number of princes who have risen from the ranks was further increased by the promotion of Katsura, born a samurai of Choshu, who was then premier, and who had a long and brilliant military and civil career, which was closed by his death in 1913. The two great feudal clans were Satsuma and Choshu, the members of which, throughout the later reign, continued to exercise a dominant influence in all administrative affairs as well as in the army and navy, and it was natural that the foremost among them should be the first to be enrolled in the highest grade of the peerage. Ito, Yamagata and Katsura were samurai of Choshu and Oyama of Satsuma.

The first marquises included the remaining seven Seike and another Kuge ; the heads of the three great Tokugawa houses of Mito, Owari, and Ki, all descended from

Marquises. younger sons of Iyeyasu, from whom a successor to the Shogunate might have been chosen in case of failure in the direct line ; the ex-King of the Loochoo Islands, domiciled as a nobleman in Japan since the incorporation of his kingdom in the Empire ; and the heads of ten other great feudal houses, Asano of Hiroshima, Nabeshima of Hizen, Ikeda of Inaba, Date of Sendai,

Hachisuka of Awa, Kuroda of Chikuzen, Matsudaira of Fukui, Satake of Dewa, Mayeda of Kaga, Hosokawa of Higo, all of Fujiwara or Minamoto descent. Kido and Okubo, as already stated, were included with them, but it was not till after the China War that further additions were made.

The three lower ranks of the peerage, as at first constituted, included all the remainder of the Kugé and Daimio and a fairly substantial leavening of "new men"

**Three Lower
Ranks.**

who had served their Emperor in either civil or military capacities, but all were of gentle birth, samurai, whose progenitors had been entitled to wear arms for many generations. Like the princes and marquises, the new peers of the lower ranks were nearly all scions of the Fujiwara and Minamoto families, and not less than 380 of the 473 peers first created from among the Kugé and Daimio could boast of a lineage that extended backwards without a break for twelve or thirteen centuries and ended either in the Imperial family or in the Fujiwara, both of which came from the Gods of Heaven. Since then the peerage, nearly doubled in numbers, has been more and more leavened with new creations without any claim to noble descent, and its ranks have been even opened to sons of Heimin (commoners) who, as soldiers, statesmen, judges, bankers or merchants, have won fame or wealth, whose fathers would have absolutely grovelled in the dust in the presence of the fathers of the peers of old descent with whom they now rub shoulders on outward terms of equality. But human nature is the same all the world over. The pride of descent and birth is as strong in Japan as it ever was, and while the new peers are nominally the equals of the old, the old still enjoy a social consideration far beyond that which falls to the new. In England, a new man may be in society but he cannot be of it. So said Du Maurier, and he had ample experience. And so it is still in Japan which, with all its progress towards democracy, is still aristocratic to its very core. The element of snobbery is absolutely foreign to Japan. It has no existence in any

class of the people, and the new nobles are quite content with their official rank without aspiring to intimate social equality with those of higher birth.

The sons of nobles have no courtesy titles, and in their cases, the inconvenience which their fathers experienced prior to 1884, still exists, the heirs, even of

**Succession,
Liabilities and
Privileges.**

the greatest nobles, not being outwardly distinguished from ordinary subjects. The heir of one of the grandest Houses of the ancient nobility, whose wife is the daughter of another House equally grand and ancient, recently served on the staff of the Embassy in London, distinguished in no way by title from his colleagues, and probably not a single member of "society" had the most remote idea of his rank in his own country. The eldest legitimate son succeeds to the title on the death of his father, and descent cannot continue in the female line. The practice of adoption, however, renders this limitation of little effect in reducing the peerage, for adopted sons succeed to titles just as though they had been lawfully begotten. Nobles are not permitted to marry or adopt children without the approval of the Minister of the Imperial Household, and all are obliged to provide a suitable education for all their relatives of every legal degree. Princes and marquises are members of the House of Peers by right of birth. The other ranks elect one member, who must be twenty-five years of age, from among themselves for every five of their total number. None have any prescriptive right to public employment. Nobles and the sons of nobles are largely represented in the army and navy, and in diplomacy, but they have entered by competitive examination, in which they take part on precisely equal terms with any ordinary citizen, Samurai or commoner, and whatever tests are required at different stages of their career from their fellow-officers of lower social status must equally be overcome by them.

CHAPTER V

THE SAMURAI

THE title Samurai is derived from an obsolete verb, *samurau*—to guard. A classic synonym for it is *Bushi*, a word compounded of two Chinese ideographs pronounced, according to the Japanese methods of reading Chinese, “*Bu*,” meaning military, and “*shi*,” a guard. In the early days of Japan’s history the Mikado commanded the army in person and actively directed the civil administration of the state. His undisputed sway did not extend beyond the central part of the Main Island. The barbarian aborigines, now represented only by the few surviving Ainus of the Northern Island of Hokkaido, still occupied the northern part of Nippon and preserved their independence. The acknowledged dominions of the Mikado required to be protected against the incursions of these barbarians, and for that purpose an army had to be permanently stationed on the northern frontier. At first all Japanese without distinction of class were soldiers, expected, when the need arose, to follow their Emperor or his officers to battle. As the population increased the need for all to fight became less, while, on the other hand, the need that some should remain behind to till the ground and provide food for all became greater. The strongest and most skilled in arms were therefore chosen as soldiers, while the weak and incompetent became agriculturists, and, as life became more complex, artisans and traders.

This was the beginning of the creation of the military class which, in the seventh century, comprised one-third of the whole adult male population who were always on military service in three divisions; one, to the members of which alone the title of Samurai originally applied, guarded the Emperor at Kioto; a second was stationed in Kiushiu to

Origin of
Title and Class.

Influence of
Chinese
Civilisation.

maintain order among the truculent inhabitants of that island, who, for many centuries, continued to fret against their rulers in Yamato ; the third, the largest and most important, was on the northern frontier. All were at first recruited from the people at large. All capable of bearing arms were required to do so when occasion called, but a new feature was introduced in the eighth century, when the official system of China found a place among the other elements of Chinese civilisation, which were already assimilated by Japan and made the foundations of her own policy, literature, law and religion. Under the Chinese system, the people were divided into officials and civilians. The same division, already in practical existence, was then also theoretically adopted in Japan, but with a modification that the peculiar conditions of Japan required. In China, the claim of the officials to respect was founded on scholarship, and learning was the only passport that gained admission to their ranks. In Japan the passport was military prowess, and people were therefore divided into military and civil classes.

This was the first step in the permanent severance of the people into distinct classes, and as the sons and grandsons of soldiers inherited the spirit of their parents and were trained from earliest boyhood to the use of arms, while those of peasants were heirs to no military spirit and had no opportunity of acquiring skill, the demarcation between the military and working classes of the people gradually became more rigid, and the great hereditary class of Samurai was formed. As time went on the advancement of civilisation brought with it the usual developments of social progress, the original agricultural class was further subdivided into farmers (No), artisans (Ko), and traders (Sho). The military class, however, always remained one and undivided, and four distinct classes comprised the entire population, with the exception of the Eta and the Hinin, the pariahs and outcasts of the nation, who lived entirely apart from the rest

Progress
of Civilisation
causes Class to
become
Hereditary.



SAMURAI

of the community, and were engaged only in what were regarded under the teaching of Buddhism as degrading occupations, such as butchers, tanners and buriers of the bodies of executed criminals. The military (Shi) took first place in national precedence, far removed above the pale of all others, and the other three preserved the order of precedence in which they have just been named. The Fujiwara took no part in military service throughout the later centuries of their regime, and military duties were delegated by them to others, especially to the two great families, the Taira and the Minamoto. Engaged as these two families were in constant warfare, either in domestic quarrels or in expeditions against the barbarians across the northern frontier, they not only developed in their own members a high degree of military skill and valour, but they also attracted to their service and enrolled in their ranks all the best fighting men of the Empire. The common interests of the heads of the families and of the followers of all degrees were great. On the number, valour, and fidelity of his followers the chieftain depended for the maintenance of his influence, for might became the sole right, while they, in their turn, looked to him not only for support and protection at all times, but for substantial rewards in rank and property when success in war gave him the power to bestow them.

The relationship of feudal lord and vassal was thus established, and it quickly became hereditary. Fathers devoted and trained their sons to the military service which they had followed : a strongly marked hereditary military class gradually came into existence, and, finally, the privilege of wearing arms was exclusively confined to it and, in the process of time, it absorbed in its members not only the military skill but all the learning and statesmanship of Japan, while the remainder of the population, farmers, artisans and traders, were left solely to industrial pursuits, and gradually sank to a position which was little better than that of serfs,

Development
of Relations of
Lord and
Vassal.

whose mission in life was to minister to the luxury and necessities of the haughty Samurai.

When Yoritomo assumed, in the name of the Emperor, and by virtue of his commission, the complete control of the

central administrative power, he established his own relations and followers in all-important

local posts throughout the Empire, and as the profession of arms became hereditary, so also did the succession to the local governorships. The whole Empire was

parcelled out among military governors, who by long occupation made themselves owners instead of governors of the

districts which they were supposed to administer in the name of the Emperor, and these governorships, transmitted from

father to son, developed in the progress of time into the great feudal principalities among which all Japan was divided until

the reign of the present Emperor. The rulers of the principalities were changed with successive dynasties of

Shoguns, when the ruin of the Shogun involved that of the feudatory who had fought for him against his successful sup-

planter. The strong among them, in the anarchy that prevailed throughout the whole empire during the Middle Ages,

seized and incorporated in their own domains those of their weaker brethren, but the principle always remained

unchanged and reached its apogee under the Tokugawas, who held the Shogunate from 1603 till 1868—the whole

country parcelled into fiefs of varying extent and wealth, each ruled by a feudal chief with the support of an army of

Samurai, who, except that he had to render homage to the Shogun, in every sense ruled his fief as an independent baron.

All these chiefs lived in semi-regal state, collected and appropriated the taxes, had their own systems of law and currency,

built castles, surrounded themselves with a greater or less number of hereditary fighting men, according to their means,

amounting to many tens of thousands in the case of the most wealthy, who gave to their lords all the allegiance that was

constitutionally due to the Emperor alone and rendered to

them the most unquestioning and absolute obedience. The territorial barons were called Daimios (great names). Their armed retainers were their Kerai or vassals, and both combined to constitute the Samurai—the fighting force of the Empire.

Equally able as a general and administrator, the founder of the Tokugawa Dynasty of Shoguns quickly brought the

**Perfection of
Feudal System
under the
Tokugawas.**

system of military feudalism to its highest perfection and took every measure which even now, when judged by the cold light of history, seems to have been possible to human foresight, to secure both the permanency of the system and the perpetual tenancy of the vicegerency by his own family. Lord himself of the eight wealthy and fertile provinces surrounding the city of Yedo, he was, apart from his great office of Shogun, at once the wealthiest and most powerful of the feudal nobles. There were other powerful nobles—the lords of Satsuma, Choshu, Higo, Kaga and Tosa—some of whom had held their fiefs since the days of the Minamoto and some had subsequently acquired them by conquest—who owed no allegiance to Iyeyasu nor held their fiefs under any condition of such, who as territorial nobles were of the same rank as himself and were inferior only in wealth, strength and genius. But as Shogun, he was, in the name of the Emperor, able to enforce his authority over them. None was strong enough to oppose him singly, and mutual jealousies and enmities prevented co-operation among a sufficient number to do so. Lands forfeited by those who, prior to his accession, had fought against him, were conferred on his own immediate followers and distributed in such a way that every baron who was bound by no ties of family or gratitude to the Tokugawas had an immediate neighbour who was bound by the strongest, and to Iyeyasu's younger sons were assigned four of the richest of all fiefs, Yechizen, Kishiu, Mito and Owari, each one of them equal in every sense to the most powerful of those who owed nothing to him. Every baron was obliged to spend half of each year at the capital, and security for his good

behaviour when away from it was obtained by the obligation of leaving his wife behind when he returned to his own province. An army of spies was maintained. There was at least one in every fief, often in the very household of the baron, and nothing that occurred, even in the innermost councils, remained long unknown to the Shogun's Government.

No dishonour attached to the office of a spy and the supreme control of the national system was hereditary in one family which held high rank at the capital.

**The System of
Spies, Past and
Present.**

It is one of the curious instances of the survival of old and long-established ideals that contact with the West has not yet taught the Japanese that the services of the spy, who risks his life or liberty on his country's behalf, are one whit less creditable than those of the soldier in the open field. The system, elaborated and brought to the highest degree of efficiency by the Tokugawas in domestic administration, when Japan was secluded from all the world, is now carried on by the Government of the restored Emperor, with the sole distinction that its results are obtained from without instead of within his dominions. What may be euphemistically termed the secret service of Japan is by a long way the most highly organised in the world. No instrument is too humble for it. Barbers, waiters, even prostitutes, who gladly live at the ports of the Far East, from Vladivostock to Singapore, as the mistresses of Europeans (there were many, very many such both at Port Arthur and Vladivostock before the outbreak of the last war), are all freely utilised, but, at the same time, the most brilliant officers of the staff and scientific corps are equally ready to serve their country in this way. It may safely be said that during the ten years that elapsed between the retrocession of Port Arthur after the war with China and its capture from the Russians in the last war, there was not even a village throughout Korea or Manchuria in which, at one time or another, a Japanese officer did not reside under the guise perhaps of a small tradesman, it may be even of a

domestic servant, carefully mapping out and studying every detail of the district. Korea and Manchuria were, before the outbreak of the war, as well known to the General Staff of the Japanese Army as Tokio itself, and the same may be said, not only of our own Far Eastern colonies of Hong-Kong and Singapore, but even of the principal cities of Australia and India at the present day.

There were in all, including Iyeyasu, fifteen Shoguns of the Tokugawa dynasty, and their reign extended from 1603, the date of the accession of Iyeyasu, until the Restoration of 1868, and throughout all this long period military feudalism continued to be maintained at its highest level, and the large section of the fighting men of the populace—the Samurai—to be trained and reserved entirely for fighting purposes, contributing nothing whatsoever to the productive capacity of the Empire. At the Restoration, the number of Samurai families was 426,458, and their individual members 1,944,442, of whom at least 600,000 were male adults, that being the strength of the standing army which Japan had at that time, with an entire population of little over 33,000,000, to maintain in time of peace, capable however of no extension in time of foreign war.

At the head of the Samurai stood the territorial nobles, foremost among whom were the Kokushiu, or lords of entire provinces, twenty-two in number, both those who held their fiefs long prior to the accession of Iyeyasu and owed nothing to him, and the members of his own family on whom he had conferred fiefs. Next in order came the Tozama, or outside nobility, ninety in number, whose fiefs, though smaller than those of the Kokushiu, had, like the majority of them, been held from the days anterior to Iyeyasu. The remainder of the territorial nobles, 168 in number, were known as the Fudai or vassals of the Shogun, who were all created by Iyeyasu, and who, therefore, owing everything to him, were bound to render

Samurai at
the Restoration.

The Feudal
Nobility.

the most implicit allegiance. Every fief was as regards its own internal administration a perfectly independent principality. No contributions were made by any to the Treasury of the Central Government, nor was there any obligation to unite even in the general defence of the Empire against a foreign foe. The repulse of the Mongol invaders in 1281 was effected by the southern clans alone, and, when nearly six hundred years later Kagoshima, the capital of the great Satsuma clan, was bombarded by the British fleet and in the following year Shimonoseki, the principal port of the equally great Choshiu clan, was in like manner bombarded by the allied fleets of Great Britain, France, Holland and the United States, no idea of any obligation to come to the assistance of either clan entered into the comprehension even of their nearest neighbours. Patriotism was just as strong among the Japanese as it is now, but it was patriotism for the clan and not for the Empire, local not national.

In addition to the territorial nobles, or Daimio, and their armies of retainers, two other important classes contributed to the great bulk of the Samurai. These were known as the Hatamoto and the Gokenin, both personal adherents of the Shogun. The first sprang from followers of Iyeyasu, many of them of noble birth and descent, who were rewarded at his accession with grants of land not sufficient to enable them to take rank as great territorial nobles but still in many cases of considerable value. Each was obliged to maintain a small retinue of armed followers and to serve the Shogun in war time, and it was from among them that the executive officials of the Government were chosen—ministers of departments, governors of cities and generals. The Gokenin were a lower class, descended from private soldiers in Iyeyasu's army, owning no land and receiving only annual incomes direct from the Shogun. And just as all ranks of nobility, from that of the Shogun himself down to the least of the Daimio, were hereditary, so were those of not only the Hatamoto and Gokenin,



SAMURAI IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

but of the lowest armed retainer in the service of every Daimio. Father handed on his privileges and duties to son, and all combined to form one distinctive and exclusive class of the population, holding themselves immeasurably superior to all others, and the poorest among them finding, in the dignity of their rank, ample compensation for the lack of wealth and the caste prejudices which forbade them to work for it.

The Samurai's theoretical standard of morality comprised in the ethical code—the Bushido or Way of the Samurai—was high and exacting. His first duty was

**Obligations
and Training of
Samurai.**

to his feudal lord, for whom he was always ready to sacrifice everything that was dear to him at any moment, life, family, property, or even reputation. To be able to discharge that duty, he was obliged to perfect himself in all military exercises, especially in the use of the national weapon, the sword, "the precious possession of lord and vassal from the earliest days," "the living soul of the Samurai"; to look for his recreation only to manly sports, to be frugal both in food and dress, to cultivate learning, loyalty and filial piety, and to prepare himself so as to be able to face death, either at his own hands or in battle, whenever or wherever it came, with stoical fortitude. Not only boys but girls were taught to look to suicide in painful form as an ever-present possibility, either to save their own honour, to procure the remedy of abuses by calling attention to them by their deaths, to influence or to die in company with their feudal lords, to save themselves from falling alive into the hands of an enemy when defeated in battle, or to expiate a crime on their own part. Japanese history teems with instances of all these, and the old spirit has not yet died under the influence of Western civilisation. When suicide was committed under a judicial sentence, a friend always stood by, whose duty it was, with one stroke of the sword to decapitate the suicide the moment he had inflicted the first wound on himself, and the end was, in this case, speedy. But in nearly all others it was carried out unaided and the suffering

borne to the last. And even in the first instance the operation was sufficiently terrible. In the *Tales of Old Japan*, Lord Redesdale, the only Englishman who has ever witnessed the carrying out of a judicial sentence of this sort, gives a very vivid description of it—

" Bowing once more, the speaker allowed his upper garments to slip down to his girdle and remained naked to the waist. Carefully, according to custom, he tucked his sleeves under his knees to prevent himself falling backwards: for a noble Japanese gentleman should die falling forwards. Deliberately, with a steady hand, he took the dirk that lay before him; he looked at it wistfully, almost affectionately: for a moment he seemed to collect his thoughts for the last time, and then stabbing himself deeply below the waist on the left-hand side, he drew the dirk slowly across to the right side and, turning it in the wound, gave a slight cut upwards. During this sickeningly painful operation he never moved a muscle of his face. When he drew out the dirk—he leaned forward and stretched out his neck; an expression of pain for the first time crossed his face, but he uttered no sound. At that moment, the second, who had been keenly watching his every movement, sprang to his feet, poised his sword for a second in the air. There was a flash, a heavy ugly thud, a crashing fall: with one blow the head had been severed from the body. A dead silence followed, broken only by the hideous noise of the blood throbbing out of the inert heap before us, which but a moment before had been a brave and chivalrous man. It was horrible."

Men who have the fortitude, as the Japanese still have, to face such a death are never likely to fail in the courage of a soldier in the field of battle. Death in this

**The Use of the
Sword.**

form, so far from being feared, was held as a cherished privilege. It left no stain on the family who survived, and was the recognised legal punishment of the Samurai for serious crimes against the law while the commoner had to expiate his crimes at the hands of the public executioner on the scaffold. The Samurai alone were privileged to carry arms, and everyone wore two swords which, with a distinctive dress, were the outward marks of their status. The longer of the two swords was for the enemies, the shorter to be used on the wearer's own body, and for the use of both there was the most elaborate etiquette. Both were worn constantly out of doors, but on visits the longer

sword had to be laid on the floor on the right-hand side of the owner with the handle towards the host so that it could not be drawn, but the shorter still continued to be worn. "To touch the sword of another was rude; to lay one's own on the floor and kick the guard with the foot in the direction of another, or in the streets to clash the sheath against another, or to turn it in the belt as if about to draw, were insults amounting to direct challenge to mortal combat."

The Samurai's ideas of honour prevented him ever engaging in productive work or in trade of any kind. The acquisition

**Duties and
Emoluments
of Samurai.**

of money by industrial pursuits was contemptible in his eyes, and no mercenary motives ever actuated him in any incident in his life. From his lord he received a daily portion of rice sufficient to support himself and his family. He kept watch at his lord's castle and formed part of his retinue when he proceeded abroad. The highest in rank and most intelligent transacted the business of the fief and acted as cabinet ministers, administering all the affairs of the *imperium in imperio* which constituted their lord's domains. Others were the teachers of the young members of their own class, the doctors, the historians, the scholars of their clans. Two of the leaders of the Revolution were nobles of the Mikado's court at Kyoto, but it was from among the territorial Samurai, armed retainers of the great feudal chiefs, that the majority sprang. It is they who have led Japan into the paths of modern civilisation. All the statesmen who have made Japan what she now is, all the men whose names are most familiar to foreigners, Ito, Inouye, Yamagata, Matsugata, Oyama, though now nobles of high degree, were forty years ago only Samurai in the great Choshu and Satsuma clans, distinguished in no way above their fellows except by the possession of intelligence, learning, enterprise, determination and foresight. Training made the Samurai courteous, loyal, courageous and proud, a scholar, a soldier and a gentleman, and when the break up of feudalism caused the loyalty,

which was originally due primarily to his lord, to be transferred to his sovereign and his country, it produced the material for officers of the army and navy, and for civil officials of every grade, which combined in it the highest attributes of patriotic courage, industry and devotion.

But there was another and very different side to the results, one that is now, in the glamour thrown over the idealised Samurai, apparently completely forgotten, not only by the English students of Japan, but to a large extent by the Japanese themselves.

Roysterers. All Samurai were neither zealous in the discharge of their duties nor in the pursuit of learning. All had the same contempt for productive work, but while some found useful spheres of occupation in other lines, many spent their whole unemployed time, that was not devoted to the practice of the sword, in sensual pleasures, in brothels and eating-houses, in drunken brawling in the streets. These were always a terror to the lower classes, cruel, violent and ready to test their swords on any peaceable citizen who came in their way.

There are now few Englishmen who can remember the streets of Yedo in the days prior to and even contemporaneous with the Restoration, when the predominant feeling of all Samurai was detestation of foreigners. Clan hatreds were violent, but they were not tinged with contempt.

Hatred of Samurai to Foreigners. Contempt of the lower classes, the workers and toilers, was deep but it carried with it no hatred. Against the foreigners contempt and hatred were joined in equal ratio, and only too often bore their results in cruel and cowardly murders. Even when the Restoration was fully accomplished, when Japan had already been opened to the world, and foreigners had resided there for over ten years, such was still the condition of the streets of the capital that no foreigners could be permitted to reside in it save the staffs of the Legations, and not only did no member of these staffs ever venture abroad unless armed with a loaded revolver kept ready to hand for instant

use, but a special body of native guards was maintained by the Government for their protection, stationed at the entrance gates of every residence, who closely shadowed every member whenever he proceeded out of doors, whether on foot or on horseback, whether at night or day. And in addition to these native guards, whose fidelity could not always be relied upon, the British and French Legations also maintained armed guards of their own nationality, who served as an escort to the Minister when abroad and as sentries in the Legation grounds at night. All the precautions were against the Samurai alone. No foreigner in the early days of our intercourse ever experienced rudeness or assault from any of the other classes, though it must be admitted that the latter in later years fully made up for their early abstention.

It is only fair to say that many of the murders of foreigners that occurred in the early days of our intercourse with Japan

Ronin
or Vagrant
Samurai.

were committed by Ronin, or wave men. These were Samurai who had renounced their clans on account of debt or poverty, the commission of a crime, the dread of a vendetta to which they had exposed themselves, or in order to be better able to carry out a vendetta which they themselves were bound, according to their code of honour, to fulfil but could not while in the service of their feudal lord ; who roamed the country at large, like waves upon the sea, always ready for any act however desperate, not knowing how to find provision for their daily needs, unable to work and ashamed to beg. Sometimes it was for an honourable motive that the clan was forsaken. Many of those who fought most bravely among the ranks of the Imperial soldiers in the Revolution had, before committing themselves to rebellion against the sovereign lord, the Shogun, become Ronin so that they might not involve their lords in their own fate if unsuccessful.

By the Restoration, the Government of the whole Empire was once more, after the lapse of twelve hundred years, placed in the hands of the Emperor, but at first there was little living

reality in the results. Military feudalism continued ; the old feudatories retained their fiefs with all their privileges and rights, and the devoted services of their retainers. No true consolidation of the Empire could be obtained under these conditions and a drastic remedy had to be provided. It was found in the surrender by the feudatories of their fiefs to the sovereign, and the abolition of the feudatories plainly necessitated the corollary of the abolition of the retainers as such, their absorption into the ranks of the people. They had for centuries been a privileged class, " which fastened on the vitals of the people, kept them in trembling slavery and deprived them of all hope of rising into political or social manhood." Now they had no longer their hereditary feudal chiefs to look to for their yearly incomes but for a continuation of that support they had claims on the Government, founded both on equity and gratitude. The Government had assumed the responsibilities of the fiefs when accepting their surrender, and it owed its very existence to the Samurai who had fought for it. But, under new conditions, they " could no longer be permitted to remain drones in a hive of industry, consuming the honey made by the toil of the lower classes."

A scheme was accordingly prepared under which each Samurai received six years' purchase from the Government as commutation of the hereditary income he had formerly received from his lord, half of which was immediately paid in cash and the other half in interest-bearing bonds. Simultaneously with the publication of this scheme, it was notified that the wearing of swords by the Samurai was no longer obligatory, and that all Samurai, whether formerly nobles or simple gentry, might freely carry on the callings of farmers, artisans or merchants. At first both these measures were optional—no one was obliged to commute his income and all could continue to wear their swords as formerly, but only a

**Result of
the Restoration
on
the Samurai.**

**Commutation
of Hereditary
Incomes.**

few years passed ere the optional measures were made obligatory. All incomes had to be commuted and the sword was compulsorily abolished. The sumptuary regulations which had given the Samurai a distinctive and imposing dress, and had reserved to him alone the privilege of riding on horseback, the penal laws which had prescribed for his offences a punishment far less degrading than that imposed on commoners had, in the meantime, also been abolished, and the introduction of universal conscription, under which a national army was formed from all classes of the people without distinction, took from him his exclusive privilege of fighting in defence of his country or of his lord. Even the very name of Samurai was abolished, although one consolation was left in that in the official registers of the people they were still described, and still continue to be so, as a separate class, that of the Shizoku, the latter word being merely the Sinico-Japanese rendering of the time-honoured native term, Samurai.

Birth still has its pride, and all the sweeping democratic measures that, during the final quarter of the last century,

**Present Position
of Former
Samurai.**

did so much to make Japan a great, united and powerful nation, have not entirely done away with the distinction which is conferred by long descent from gentle ancestors. But no pride of birth can in Japan now supply the lack of industry and ability. The sons of the old Samurai compete on equal terms with those of the commoner, not only in commercial pursuits but in the learned professions and for every public appointment, whether in the army, navy or civil service, and the fact which is undisputed that, in all, the sons of Samurai take a prominent lead in advance of the commoners is solely owing to the greater intelligence inherited from those who formerly centred in themselves all the independent intelligence of the nation, supplemented by greater industry, which found its most pressing incentive in the desire to secure employment and serve in the state in a manner

worthy of their fathers. The descendants of Samurai are now foremost in every line of professional, military and official life. Those who have not succeeded so well in the struggle are policemen, railway guards, village school-masters, postmen, non-commissioned officers in the army and navy, but all, no matter how humble their station, preserve the best traditions of their descent, are faithful, punctilious and of undaunted courage in the discharge of all their duties.

After forty years, the Samurai, all leading useful, active lives, and all with a sufficiency for their wants in their several stations, have every reason to be satisfied with the changed conditions of Japan. But **Early Privations after the Restoration.** in early days succeeding the reform, the circumstances of the general body were deplor-

able. In a moment, as it were, they were thrown on the world totally unaccustomed to any work but that of military service, ignorant alike of every element of trade and productive industry, to enter upon the struggle for existence on equal terms with those to whom every incident of that struggle had been long familiar. Sums of money, larger than had ever before at any one time been at their disposal, were placed in their hands, and even the Government bonds in which a moiety of their commuted incomes was issued to them, could be sold or mortgaged to any one but foreigners. Trade seemed to promise the most profitable avenue of employing capital, and in the wave of democratic sentiment which swept over Japan, the old contempt for trade entirely disappeared. The majority therefore embarked in it in one form or another, but trade, even in its simplest forms, is rarely successful when the trader is entirely destitute of both training and experience, and in a very short time large numbers of the erstwhile warriors found themselves without either money or occupation, with hopeless want staring them in the face and many are the sad tales that were told of their fate. But intelligence and courage carried the majority safely through all early trials,

and at the present day, the descendants of the old military class deservedly occupy a place among their countrymen as prominent and distinguished and infinitely more useful than that held by their ancestors in the feudal days of the rigid class privileges.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN

THE male population of Japan, excluding Formosa and the continental dominions of the Emperor, exceeds the female by just over half a million, there being

Comparative	26,205,818 females in a total population of
Male and	nearly fifty-three million. The average
Female	ratio of male to female births during the
Population.	ten years preceding 1908 was over 105

males to 100 females, so that the majority of males seems likely to continue, but it is not more perhaps than is sufficient to provide for the greater risk of casualty to which men are exposed, comparatively greater in Japan than in Great Britain, as deaths in childbirth are rare, and as the occupations of the lower classes of men expose them to pulmonary and bronchial diseases to a far greater degree than women. The entire absence of any such striking numerical preponderance of women as is the case in England, causes marriage at an early age to be universal among them, and that fact has influenced their training and position throughout all ages. They have never had to seek or make careers for themselves. When parents have died, the other members of the family, taking family in its largest sense, have had to assume the obligation of providing for the orphans, including that of finding in proper time husbands for the girls, and neither women nor girls are therefore thrown upon the world to fight their own battle of life and to sink or swim in its hard struggle.

In recent years, employment for women has increased, through the spread of more liberal opinions and the development of female education, both literary and technical, but marriage still remains the ultimate career of all, and if

trades or professions are learnt during girlhood, they have to be practised, if at all, during wifehood. A spinster of any rank in life over twenty years of age is rarely met with and if a woman attains the age of twenty-five and is still a spinster, her existence is regarded as a discredit not only to herself but to her family, every member of which feels the reproach. So much was this formerly the case that, when the custom still existed of blackening the teeth as the outward symbol of married women, and the usual marriage age was much lower than at the present day, spinsters, who attained the age of twenty, used to follow this custom of their married sisters rather than let their single state be always apparent to all whom they met. The sentiment in this respect is not so all-powerful as it used to be, but it is still one of the strongest of all those which prevail in the domestic life of Japan.

**Marriage, the
Principal Career
of
all Women.**

At all periods women have enjoyed a greater degree of liberty in Japan than in other Oriental countries, and in many respects they have made as great a mark in the history of their country as their most distinguished sisters of the West. The first great international incident, which, legendary though it is, is still regarded with exulting pride by all Japanese patriots, was the invasion of Korea which was planned, organised and conducted to a triumphal issue by the Regent-Empress Jingo. Seven Empresses have sat on the Imperial throne as sovereigns and not as consorts, and two at least of them were very vigorous rulers who carried out important and far-reaching national reforms. Some of the Empress-Consorts actively and strongly shared their Imperial husbands' executive functions. Masago, the strong-minded wife of Yoritomo, the first of the Shoguns, played so great a part in contemporary history that she has been called the Maria Theresa of Japan, and her political acumen, force of character and determination of will were not inferior to those of our own Queen Bess.

**Great
Women.**

In lower ranks of life, some have fought by their warrior husbands' sides, and some, when the husbands faltered, have either, by their own examples, shamed them into new courage and energy, or have even taken the husband's place at the front and led their soldiers to victory. And there

Heroines
of
Lower Rank.

are not a few instances in which fortress walls have been held only by women against an assaulting enemy, and the enemy kept at bay and even victoriously driven off, and in those in which the fortress fell, the women defenders have died, halberds in hand, fighting to the last. The list of those whose passive courage has enshrined their names in the national temples of honour is a long one, though for each one of those whose names are remembered there must have been hundreds equally worthy whose sufferings and sacrifices were never known outside their own local circles. During all the long and cruel Christian persecutions of the seventeenth century, women went to shameful deaths and bore the most horrible tortures with no less unflinching firmness than the bravest martyrs among the men. Over and over again women have died by their own hands, directing the sword against their throats, with the same stoical fortitude as their Samurai husbands performed *hara kiri*, to save themselves from dishonour or refusing to survive it, and throughout pestilence and famine, earthquakes or floods, or when the great fires that used to devastate Japanese cities spread ruin all around them, they have always shown that they too have imbibed to its fullest extent the doctrine, taught to their husbands from their earliest years, that a smiling front must be presented to every danger and misfortune that can befall mankind. The brilliant share which women have had in the national literature as poetesses and as the authoresses of the best works of the Golden Age of Japanese literature is described in another chapter.

The rise of the military power in Japan, the reduction of the Imperial Court to impotency and the anarchy that prevailed



LADY IN OUTDOOR DRESS



during the long civil wars of the Middle Ages, combined to lower the position which women held in the earlier days of Japan's history. For the rule of the refined

Lowered Status
of
Women in
Middle Ages.

court, presided over by Empresses who themselves had been carefully educated to qualify them for their great dignities, in which the graceful accomplishments of women received their full meed of honour and admiration, was substituted that of rough warriors, whose only admiration was given to fighting prowess, and in whose eyes the physical weakness of women made them appear as inferior creatures, unworthy to be the companions on equal terms of their warrior lords for whom domestic life had no joys and the greater part of whose existence was passed in military camps far away from their homes. The sentiment that prevailed in court, whether that of the Emperors before it sank into insignificance, or in that of the Shoguns while they exercised sovereign authority, quickly spread and became guiding influences of the whole nation. Women, honoured and taking an active part in life while the emperors were still *de facto* sovereigns, were throughout the whole period of military domination, remitted to the rigid seclusion of their own chambers, and there, though the most stern fidelity to their lords was expected from them, fidelity not only to the marriage vows but to all his interests and honour, which was to be maintained while life lasted and to be preserved even at the cost of life itself, they had no means of elevating themselves so as to be fitted to become the intellectual companions of men and take a share in their lives other than as humble servitors and mothers of children. Throughout the long years of the civil wars of the Middle Ages they were the worst sufferers. The women of the vanquished were spared from death no more than the men, or if they were, it was only that they should be consigned to the fate that was worse than death. Chivalry, in the highest sense in which it was practised by the Christian knights, had no place in the moral codes of the warriors of old Japan, and despised and

neglected by the men of their own family, always in dread of the violence of their foes, with no opportunity of broadening their minds by association with the outward world, women in the Middle Ages gradually sank into a position of conscious inferiority which made them little better than the slaves of men.

To the influence exercised upon them by their social surroundings was added that of religion. In the sorrows of their

dark lives, they sought consolation in Buddhism, which gave them hopes of a better and brighter future, but taught them that seclusion was the proper lot of women during life on earth, that neither should men, no matter what their calling, be admitted into their homes nor should they themselves desire to go abroad, that their leisure should be spent and their pleasure found in religious observances. Confucianism, with its stern code of female segregation and suppression, followed on Buddhism, and, teaching as it did, that everyone should be satisfied with his or her own lot in life, no matter how great its misery, completed the work that the tyranny of feudal anarchy and the enervating influence of Buddhism had begun. Reverence and obedience, both in their most extended sense, were the qualities that were now instilled into women from their earliest years as those that should be cultivated as their greatest ornaments, greater even than chastity, for chastity might be sacrificed to save parents from want, but reverence and obedience could never be abandoned. Both were to be shown when a child to parents, when a wife to husband and his parents, and when a widow, to the eldest son, at all times to elders of every degree of relationship, and in their practice there was no degree of self-abnegation to which a woman should not descend. As men had their code of Bushido—the way of the warrior—to teach them their duties to their feudal lord, so had the women theirs in the Teijodo—the way of the virtuous women—and as the Bushido taught that life, family and property were all to be freely sacrificed

Influence
of Buddhism
and Confucianism.

for the lord, so did the Teijodo teach that no sacrifice was too great to be made for the husband or father.

In the pre-Restoration days, women were in their early childhood taught the rudiments of reading and writing, both

Education
before
the Restoration.

principally in the Kana syllabaries but supplemented by a limited number of the Chinese ideographs in most common use. Up to the age of seven they were taught the same subjects and in the same schools as boys—in the upper ranks the teaching of both was by private tuition in their own homes—but after that age the boys and girls were separated, both in schools and in private life, and their special training began, that of the boys to fit them to become the fighting men and civil administrators of the clans to which they belonged and devoted vassals of their lord, always prepared to sacrifice their lives for his sake, and that of the girls to make them silent, humble, obedient, chaste, gracious, self-sacrificing wives and mothers, and careful and competent housekeepers, whose homes were to be their lives, whose life duties were to be abject, unquestioning and uncomplaining submission to their husbands and to the husbands' parents in whose houses the wives resided.

When the growing girl had mastered the elements of reading and writing, her further education was carried on

The Women's
Library.

under the principles laid down in the *Onna Daigaku*, or the Great Learning of Women, a work embodying the principles of female training that were held by Yeken Kaibara, a scholar and philosopher who lived in the seventeenth century, who devoted his thought and educational experience to the elevation, according to his own lights, of the upbringing of women. This work became the woman's Bible. It was found in every household; its contents were read and absorbed by every girl, and its tenets, which were considered to include all the highest ideals of perfect womanhood, became the guiding principles of all her life, both as daughter, wife, and mother. It was,

however, supplemented by others—the *Onna Shogaku*, or the Small Learning of Women, published nearly a century later, which became an introduction to the study of the larger work, advocating the same principles and emphasising the doctrine that a husband was to a woman as a lord to his vassal: the *Onna Yobunsho*, or Woman's Letter Writer; the *Onna Iye no Oshiye*, or Woman's Household Teaching, which, as its name implies, taught her the theory of her domestic duties, sewing, the arrangement and economy of her house, the reception of guests, and the management of servants. All these, with a few others of similar scope, comprised the whole of the *Onna Bunko*, or Women's Library. They were all written in a style that was suited to the intelligence and degree of literary education that was considered to be becoming to a woman, printed in large type in the syllabaries with a moderate admixture of the easiest Chinese ideographs, and fully illustrated. Very few girls proceeded beyond the contents of the library or obtained such a knowledge of the ideographs as enabled them to read the historic and philosophic works which were printed only in ideographs without any interpolation of the interpreting syllabaries, and their knowledge of the great events and heroes of history was derived from romances, from verbal tuition, from what they learnt from public story-tellers or incidentally to their acquisition of the art of writing, when elegantly written extracts from well-known text-books, not only on history but on science and morality, were set as models to be copied.

The great principles laid down in the *Onna Daigaku*, all founded on the sternest ethics of Confucianism, were that

a woman should be brought up by her own
Moral Code. parents so that when married she should be
 absolutely obedient to those of her husband:
 that she should avoid the society of men, even that of her
 husband's relations or fellow vassals; that she should be
 gentle, conciliatory and reverential to her husband, "looking
 upon him as heaven," never repaying anger with anger, never



A GEISHA

jealous, no matter what cause is given to her, but always yielding to him, never seeing his faults but always humbly acknowledging her own; always careful in his household, exercising herself a strict but unobtrusive personal supervision over all its details, no matter how many servants she might have, never interfering with the conduct of his own duties for "it is a righteous and world-recognised rule that a true husband takes care of the outside business while a true wife manages the affairs of the house—when a wife occupies herself with outside affairs it is as when a hen is afflicted with a propensity to crow at morn"; neither extravagant nor luxurious in her own clothing or food; not going abroad too frequently even to temples; carefully examining her own heart so as to see and cure its imperfections and eradicate the foolishness that is inborn in all women and the main source of all their failings.

The result of upbringing, continued through many generations, on these principles, was that Japanese women became

**Moral Results
of Training.**

the most perfect female type of humility, unselfishness and patient endurance that the world has ever seen. Not even the most conscientious members of the strictest and sternest sisterhoods of the Roman Catholic Church excelled the Japanese wife in these qualities. What the abbess was to the most timid and gentle novice so in an even greater degree was the husband to the wife in Japan. Every sense of individuality and independence of thought and action on her part was destroyed. She could never be the intellectual equal and companion of her husband. She acquired some knowledge of music and could perhaps play simple melodies on the koto, a harp with thirteen strings, or on the samisen, a three-stringed guitar, and she could arrange flowers, but she was wholly incapable of advising or even amusing him, and the husband always sought, without a thought of condemnation from his own family or from the public opinion of the world, the distractions which the wife and home failed to give him in the society and companionship

of geisha, the fascinating music and dancing girls, who were trained from their earliest childhood so that they might be efficient ministers to his pleasures. On the other hand, the Japanese wife was chaste, faithful, obedient, frugal, a tender mother, graceful in dress, and always gentle and winning, with a soft and pleasing voice and a smiling face.

What we have written applies mainly to the wives and daughters of the Samurai. No other class in the community

counted and it was for them that books were written and educational principles devised.

Women of the Lower Classes. But in the *terakoya*, the village schools, where the sons and daughters of the humblest classes received their education, the *Onna Daigaku* was read to the girls and its doctrine taught so far as it was applicable to their station in life. They were also taught arithmetic which did not enter into the curriculum of their betters. When they grew up and married they took an active share in the business or occupation of their husbands and, like the French *bourgeoisie*, the Japanese wife in the lower classes of life was not only the housekeeper but often the business manager of her husband, keeping his books, conducting his sales, timing his workmen, whether in shop or on farm, and in that capacity she frequently showed herself a capable business woman of the first rank. She consequently enjoyed a degree of liberty and authority that never entered even into the thoughts of her high-born, aristocratic sisters, and so far from silently acquiescing in all her husband's faults and weaknesses, she could and often did remonstrate with one who was idle, extravagant or dissipated, with an eloquence that might even have been envied by scolds in the West. Men of all classes had the same privileges of divorce. Scolding, or even excessive talking, was a fair ground, according to the Confucian code, for getting rid of a wife, but in the lower classes the wife, if a capable business woman, was too valuable an asset to be hastily discarded and she might therefore give full play to her tongue without fear of consequences. Two facts may here be

mentioned as illustrations of the truth of this statement. A slang term among the lower classes for wife is Kojin Sama, "the scolding deity." When translations of the works of English literature began to be made in Japan, one of the first was *Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures*, and it at once gained a wide popularity.

With the Restoration came the desire to assimilate Japanese customs and ideas to those of Europe and, in the early days of the new Government, this desire was the controlling influence of national reform, both political and domestic. Nowhere was the contrast greater than in the relative positions of European and Japanese women and attention was therefore, from the first, given to the foundation of an educational system for women which should help to elevate them to a higher intellectual standard than was obtainable under their opportunities in the past. The first step towards the attainment of the new ideal was taken in the case of the nobles, dispossessed of their fiefs and relieved from all the duties and anxieties of their administration, but as yet unqualified to take any part in the greater field of the national administration. They were permitted to go abroad for purposes of study, and advised by their Emperor to take their wives with them so that they, too, might enjoy the same advantages. This was in itself a great departure from time-honoured institutions. The wife, who had hitherto never been beyond her own doors, unless in a screened palanquin surrounded by guards, was now to see, as the equal and companion of her husband, the lives and customs of her European sisters, brought up under conditions so different from her own, and to learn from them what she could for her own betterment. When the first great Embassy from the new Government to the Powers of the world which had Treaty Relations with Japan sailed from Yokohama in December, 1871, on a mission, apart from its political objects, to investigate the civilisation of Europe in all its details, seven girls of tender years and

First Steps
in Modern
Education.

gentle birth were taken to be placed in the best American schools and fully educated in Western fashion. Two of these girls are now Princess Oyama, the wife of the Commander-in-Chief of all the armies in the Russian War, and Mme. Uriu, whose husband as an admiral won distinction in the same war that is only second to that of Admiral Togo. And when a national scheme of universal and compulsory education was inaugurated almost contemporaneously, that of girls was not overlooked and though only a tithe of the thought and money that were lavished on the boys and youths was devoted to their sisters, both private and government schools for girls were founded in all the most populous prefectures. European ladies were engaged as teachers, the English language was taught to all the pupils, and a beginning made in teaching them the rudiments of Western knowledge in all its most popular branches, as an essential of their education. From the first, the new departure from old customs received the gracious support and encouragement of the Empress, and it was at her suggestion that a girls' branch was attached to the nobles' school, so that the daughters of the highest families in the land might have the educational opportunities of their brothers, that a school for the training of sick nurses was founded, and that technical schools for the teaching of bread-winning occupations were added to those which gave only a literary education.

Reforms had to be made slowly in the face of strenuous opposition not only on the part of bigoted conservatives who, amid all the changes in the ancient institutions that were taking place, were still obstinately opposed to any in the old domestic life of Japan, but even on the part of leading statesmen who, in everything else, were enthusiastic reformers. It was insisted that the advantages of the new system of education should be reserved for men only, and that no step should be taken that might have as its results the infusion among women of a consciousness of their own intellectual capacity and the

**Opposition
to Reform.**



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PRINCESS OYAMA AND FAMILY

consequent uprooting of the old traditions which held that women were and must always be the absolute and unconditional intellectual and social inferiors of men. But liberality triumphed in the long run, and education was extended to all without distinction of class or sex and the rules for all are now alike.

Boys and girls alike must now begin their school lives at latest at the age of six years, and in both cases continue them

**Educational
Facilities.**

for at least nine years. That is the shortest period of compulsory education. Secondary education is provided in the high schools of which there must be at least one in every prefecture, and the same rule applies to normal schools for the training of female teachers for elementary and secondary schools. There are also two normal high schools, which might more properly be called colleges, with faculties of literature, science and art, in which women, in a course extending over four years, are trained to become high-school teachers, and as to technical education, there are schools both of industrial and fine arts, of music, embroidery, photography and medicine. The scheme of higher education was completed in 1901 by the opening of the University for women in Tokio, its foundation being once more largely due to the influence and material help of the Empress.

The University has its affiliated schools, from kindergarten upwards, and the aim that is kept in view is that of promoting

**Women's
University.**

the intellectual, moral and physical education of women by providing for them from the first to the last stages a perfectly uniform and consistent system of education. The University course lasts for three years and includes household science, literature, English and pedagogy, and it may be followed by post-graduate courses extending over periods of from one to three years. Space will not admit of a full account of the system pursued in the University which is full of detail, but, as in the laws of the country, so in the Woman's University, an effort

has been made, to harmonize in the higher education of the women the best principles of the West with the peculiar social conditions of Japan, keeping in mind that, in Japan, the great object is not to make women qualified bread-winners for themselves or others, a rôle that they are not required to fill, but physically and intellectually good wives and mothers, able to play the parts both in their homes and in the state for which nature has best fitted them. The great aims which the students are to keep before them were described in an address delivered by the President of their University from which we make the following extract—

“ The students are enjoined to bear, distinctly and ineffaceably engraved on their minds, that they are expected to make it their chief end and duty to cultivate to the fullest extent possible all their faculties as well as their womanly virtues, and to remain faithful and endeavour to live up to the following principles, never forgetting to be and do good, to study and learn :

“ They should always be guided in their conduct by the Imperial commandments embodied in the Imperial Rescript on Education, and at the same time observe strict obedience to the rules and regulations of the University, understanding well the aims and purposes with which this institution strives to conduct its work of educating women. They should be respectful towards their instructors and loving towards their friends, endeavouring to be self-ministering and self-governing. They should ever be warned from falling into idle and extravagant habits of life. Respecting others, they should be self-respecting also. Courteous and obliging in their social intercourse, they should not be proud in their bearing ; and polite and truthful, they should endeavour not to betray themselves into acts of frivolity and caprice. Firm in their resolutions and noble in their aspirations, they should endeavour to make themselves of all that makes women lovable and adorable.

“ In their endeavour to acquire knowledge and learn arts, they should cultivate the habit so far as possible of trying to study and master by their own effort, to think and judge for themselves, thereby freeing themselves from the fault, so common among girl students, of blindly submitting to their instructors' words and passively yielding to an author's views. Rather than try to be widely informed and variedly accomplished, they should make efforts to acquire and foster the faculty of perceiving and penetrating into the real aspects and true relationships of things and affairs and to grasp the fundamental principles and acme of art and knowledge, so that after their graduation from the University, they may be permanently possessed of the power of freely and profitably putting into practice what they have acquired in the class-room.

"A weak and sickly woman cannot but be an object of misfortune not only to herself but also to the home of which she is mistress. But the evil does not end there, because there is the fear of infecting posterity and thereby burdening society permanently. It should thus be seen that it is a matter of vital importance for the students to be always mindful of promoting their bodily health by taking liberal physical exercises and otherwise observing the rules of hygiene and sanitation concerning their diet, clothing, study, sleep, care of the body, etc."

It is difficult to form an estimate of the effect which the changes, both in the national spirit and in their own training during the last forty years, have as yet realised on the character and talents of Japanese women. Even the oldest European residents in Japan, acquainted with the language, eager and painstaking students of history, literature and folk-lore, whether officials, missionaries or traders, whether men or women, have rare opportunities of learning anything of the domestic life of families whose status is above that of the lower middle classes. Social intercourse between Europeans, whose status entitles them to admission into the upper ranks of society, and Japanese of the upper-middle and highest classes is frequent, but it is of the most formal nature, and may be said to be limited to official functions. Of the intimate home lives of the Japanese, both men and women, who are such pleasant, smiling and courteous hosts and guests at these functions, we know no more now than we did forty years ago when they—the women without any and the men with but few exceptions—would have recoiled with disdain mingled perhaps with some fear, from social intercourse with Europeans even of the most formal nature. It is true that a handful of Europeans have married Japanese wives, but neither these ladies nor the families from which they have come, even those whose husbands are of good social standing, can be taken as representative types of their fellow nationals, and it is doubtful if even the husbands have made any further ingress into the native family life, even if they have become, as some have done, naturalised Japanese subjects, than ordinary

**Social
Intercourse with
Europeans.**

Europeans who have not their claims to intimacy. In nothing is the gulf between East and West more pronounced than it is in the utter absence of such close familiar intercourse as would justify any writer in producing, for instance, such a work as *Life in a French Country House*, and while the gulf is not so broad or hopelessly impassable in Japan as it is in other Oriental countries, it is still there and still raises a barrier over which none have crossed as yet. We can only judge of the real position of women by what their own countrymen tell us in the Press or in popular romances, by the little that we see of them, and by official publications. The latter show that their sphere of employment has been immensely enlarged. The lower classes, whose only avocation was formerly that of domestic servants—we are speaking, of course, of occupations outside their own homes in which they have always actively assisted their husbands and fathers whether agriculturists, tradesmen, or manufacturers—now find employment in weaving and spinning factories, in paper mills, in Government printing departments and in some other industries.

Women a step higher in rank are employed in not inconsiderable numbers in telephone exchanges, post and railway offices and as clerks in banks and commercial companies, as teachers, artists, nurses and physicians. In the teaching profession we find that, in 1908, there were 149 female teachers in the normal schools, 746 in special and technical schools, 779 in high schools, 2,797 in miscellaneous schools and 27,693 in the Government primary schools, and Japanese ladies have been engaged to act as teachers in female schools not only in China, but so far away as Siam, and have gone and are living in both countries, unescorted and unguarded, precisely as their European professional sisters would do. This alone is a great advance on the time when, except for etiquette, music and dancing, a female teacher was an unknown quantity. A few, a very few, ladies of good position have used their voices and pens in

Women's
Spheres of
Employment.



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VISITOR AND HOSTESS

public in advocating the development of the rights of women, but the most advanced of them, when urged from Boston to found a suffragette society in Japan, replied that the time for it had not yet come.

In the highest ranks, ladies, with Imperial princesses at their head, following the example so earnestly and continuously set to them by their Imperial mistress, take an active and most successful part in the management of charitable and educational institutions. Prominent among these are the Red Cross Society and its ancillaries; the Ladies' Patriotic Association, and the Ladies' Nursing Society; the Charity Hospital; the Educational Society and the Society for the Care of Children and Female Prisoners. These are all in Tokio, but there are branches or subsidiary societies in every prefecture throughout the Empire, and in all the most active members are ladies of Imperial, noble or high official rank.

With all these examples of the active lives of women of the present day, with the great reforms that have been made in the legal status of women, the increased family and property rights that have been conferred on them, the knowledge brought back to their own country by those who have lived abroad of European female life and freedom, it may be doubted, judging from the available sources of information, if any universal or great change has occurred in the domestic lives of Japanese women. Divorce has largely decreased, but the average ratio during the last ten years was 1·61 to 8·15 marriages for each thousand of the population, that is, an average of one divorce for every five marriages. Less than twenty years ago the average was one to three. The husband can still hand to his wife the old *Mi-kudari-han*—the three lines and a half,—the written intimation which tells her to return to her parents' home, and new legal limitations have not impaired his moral rights of long standing. The spirit inbred

Occupations of
Ladies of
Upper Classes.

Present Status
of Women.

throughout a thousand years cannot be eradicated in one generation, notwithstanding all the marvellous receptive qualities of the Japanese, and the women of Japan are still far from obtaining the complete equality of husband and wife that is characteristic of the highest Western and Christian civilisation. Both their minds and bodies have been more fully developed, but marriage is still their greatest career, and over their married lives still hang the old clouds, not so oppressively sombre and soul-darkening as before, but still heavy and black enough to shade what should be the joyous brightness of perfect domestic happiness. Their opportunities of associating with men, even with their countrymen, are still limited. In her home a woman seldom acts as hostess to men guests and, if she does, it is at the close of the entertainment to apologise for its imperfections. Custom still forbids a widow to marry though the law permits it. Married life has still to be passed with the husband's parents, and the terrors of the mother-in-law—in Japan a far greater domestic tyrant than the most arbitrary and tyrannical of husbands—have still to be faced. The iron sway of these ladies is, in the present generation, not so rigid as it was before feudal notions were eradicated, but it still exists as a blight on the domestic peace and happiness of young wives, and still exercises its baneful influence in not infrequently forcing the husband to use his privileges of divorce, when the unfortunate wife fails to please in every respect, not him, but his mother.

We have left to the last the rather delicate subject of the personal attractions of Japanese women. Most of our readers have had opportunities of at least seeing Japanese ladies in England, but here they invariably wear European dress which never becomes them with the same grace as do their own tasteful and beautiful robes of silk and *crêpe* of varied but subdued hues. In their own dress it may be acknowledged that Europeans have invariably found them perfect pictures of artistic refinement and beauty, and they

Personal
Attractions of
Japanese
Women.

have been equally impressed by their captivating gentleness and dignity of manner and by their soft voices. It is hard to say where their beauty lies further than that their brown eyes are bright and sparkling and far from wanting in coquetry, and their teeth are of pearl-like whiteness. On the other hand, their heavy hair is coarse and spoilt by unguents that are necessary to keep it in tidiness. Its colour is of raven blackness and it is picturesque in its heavy masses arranged in any of the many forms that are, in their turn, peculiar to the maidens, wives or matrons, fastened with pins and combs of tortoiseshell or inlaid metals, and relieved by bright tassels or braids of crimson *crêpe*. Their dark-brown complexions are not such as appeal to European tastes: the absence of corsets nullifies the charms of their graceful figures, the clinging skirts of their robes and the obi, the wide belt that is tightly bound round waist and hips, render their gait awkward and constrained. But the effect, as a whole, merits the terms that we have already used and makes the Japanese women one of the most alluring of the many attractions of their lovely islands. "The maidens have the joyous beauty of the cherry blossoms of spring; their matrons, the quieter charm of the russet maples of autumn." We will conclude by quoting the description by a Japanese writer of the qualities that combine to constitute a beautiful woman in the eyes of his countrymen, prefacing the quotation by saying that physical beauty is not the attraction that most commends itself to the superior man—

"She is to possess a body not much exceeding five feet in height, with comparatively fair skin and proportionally well-developed limbs; a head covered with long, thick and jet-black hair; an oval face with a straight nose, high and narrow; rather large eyes with large, deep brown pupils and thick eyelashes; a small mouth, hiding behind its red, but not thin, lips, even rows of small white teeth; ears not altogether small; and long and thick eyebrows forming two horizontal but slightly curved lines, with a space left between them and the eyes."

CHAPTER VII

SOME SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

MARRIAGE is almost universal in Japan, and though at the present day celebrated much later than it used to be, the marriage age is still early according to English

Marriage. ideas. Iyeyasu, in the famous Testament in which he directed his successors in the Shogunate as to the policy which they should pursue in the administration of their Government, declared that marriage "is the first law of nature and that a man should not live alone after sixteen years of age." Twelve years was then recognised as the marriageable age for a woman. Both have been altered by modern law to seventeen completed years in the case of men and fifteen in that of women. Custom has, in recent years, somewhat extended both limits, but even now spinsters, of over twenty years of age, are rarely met with, and bachelors, except in the poorest labouring classes, who have arrived at full manhood, scarcely ever. While law and custom sanction early marriages, none can take place, no matter what the ages of the parties may be, without the consent of the heads of the families of both, and when the bridegroom is under thirty and the bride under twenty-five the consent must also be obtained of their own parents, even though they are not the heads of the families.

The marriage tie is a loose one, dissolvable, without legal interference, theoretically at the will of both parties, in practice at that of the husband, and though

Divorce. public opinion has, in recent years, condemned a too reckless indulgence in this freedom, and law has secured to the wife a degree of protection of which she had formerly no conception, the divorce rate is still high. According to the Confucian precepts, which formerly entirely

guided the domestic system and have been too deeply ingrained in the life of the nation to be abrogated by any modern law, a husband was justified in divorcing his wife for any one of seven causes: disobedience, sterility (a woman was considered to be sterile who was only the mother of female children), adultery, incurable disease, jealousy or excessive talkativeness. The wife was not only bound to be obedient to her husband but to her husband's parents, to submit uncomplainingly to any moral or even physical cruelty on their part, and the least infraction of this duty was, both in public opinion and according to the Confucian code, an ample justification for the husband to divorce her. The eldest son and his wife invariably resided with his parents and the latter had therefore ample opportunities of venting their ill-will on a daughter-in-law whom they disliked. In Japan, the mother-in-law was not only a proverbial but a real terror, not however to the son-in-law, as in England, but to the daughter-in-law, and one of the improvements in her position which the latter owes to the new code of law is the right of appealing for a legal divorce when the cruelty of either husband or his parents is carried to an excessive degree.

Divorces may take place on other grounds than those formulated by Confucius, great though the latitude was which

**Causes of
Divorce.**

he sanctioned. Among the middle and lower classes of Japan, who have to earn their daily bread, one of the principles which guides parents in selecting their son's future wife is her suitability for assisting him in his business, and if she fails on trial after marriage, no compunction whatever is exercised in divorcing her. Once, when the present writer was staying in a native hotel of high class in an inland town, which had been in the possession of the same family for nearly three centuries, the wife of the eldest son of the proprietor was divorced after less than six months of marriage. She was pleasant both in manners and person, gentle and soft-voiced, obedient and dutiful, well educated and accomplished according to her

station in life, and of bright and sunny disposition. But all these attractions faded into nothingness when weighed in the balance against a total incapacity to keep the hotel books, and though the young husband, little over twenty years of age, was well pleased with his bride, he uttered not a word of objection when told by his parents that she must go back to her own family, and she, on her part, never dreamt of uttering a word of protest. This is but an instance of what is of everyday occurrence in families of the middle and lower classes of life. Among the upper classes, on the other hand, divorces are as rare as they are frequent in the lower. Conjugal infidelity is never their cause. On the part of the husband it is no offence; on that of the wife, it never occurs.

Marriage in Japan, not only in the middle and lower but also in the upper classes, as it is also in many countries of

**Marriage
Preliminaries.**

Europe, is entirely a matter of business, taking that term not only in its ordinary commercial sense but in its widest application to all the material interests of life. Sentimental or romantic considerations have no part in it. The father solicits the assistance of a *nakado* or middleman, who is generally a friend of the family but who may be only a professional marriage-broker, to procure a life partner of suitable position for a marriageable son or daughter. The requisites may vary very much. If it is the father of a brotherless daughter who applies, it is necessary that the future son-in-law should become a member and take the name of his bride's family in order that the family succession may be properly continued. In that case, the future home of the young people is in that of the bride's father, and her husband becomes as much a member of the family as he had been of his own. The willingness of the bridegroom to assume this position is therefore an essential preliminary to any negotiations, but as the position is one that is not considered desirable—a common proverb says, "No one should go as a son-in-law if he has three measures of rice bran of his own,"—very tactful capacity

is required on the part of the middleman to ensure a satisfactory conclusion. Where, however, his services are sought by a father to procure a bride for his son, the matter is easier. The eldest son is the heir and succeeds to the family home and property, and a wife is easily found for him among families of corresponding status to his own. She brings no dowry, only her trousseau, and no question of settlements therefore arises. All the middleman has to do is to find a lady, sound in mind and body, and personal attractions are of not much greater moment than those of finance.

When he has found such, and her parents receive his overtures with favour, a meeting of the two families is arranged, which is usually made the occasion of a festal gathering, shared in by all the members of both, at which the young couple see each

other possibly, even probably, for the first time in their lives, and have the opportunity, which a merry-making affords, of forming an estimate of each other's appearance and character. **Betrothals.** Filial duty is the most prominent element in Confucian morality. It includes the reverential obedience not only which children owe to their parents, but subjects to the Emperor, who is the father of all his people, and servants to masters, and it is so strongly ingrained in the Japanese character that children of either sex very rarely object to their parents' choice of their marriage partner. In the present age, when Western ideas of personal liberty and responsibility have somewhat modified those of the past, parents are less disposed to force on their daughters husbands who are plainly repugnant to them, while the son sometimes claims and exercises a right to decline the subject of his father's first selection. In either case, the middleman has to begin his task all over again, but the end is the same whether the first or last lady submitted for the bridegroom's approval is taken: she is always his parents' choice through the middleman. The daughter very rarely objects. If all goes well at the first meeting, the prospective bridegroom sends certain defined presents of clothes

and food to the lady, and when they are accepted by her father on her behalf, the betrothal is completed and both parents and parties are legally bound by it. Recission is rare on either side, and there is no reference in the existing Civil Codes of Law to "breach of promise." If such an action were brought in the Japanese courts, it would be entirely between the parents, and the measure of damages would be strictly limited to the financial loss proved by the plaintiff, which would be so insignificant as not to merit consideration.

When the betrothal has been completed, a lucky day is chosen for the wedding. Before it arrives, the bridegroom pays a formal visit to the family of the bride when he is presented to the relatives of every degree. Then on the evening of the great day,

**Wedding
Ceremonies.**

the bride, with a white silk covering on her head and face, and entirely dressed in pure white—not the colour of joy but of deep mourning, for the girl is now parting for ever from her own parents, more so indeed than if it was death that had taken her away, for after death her spirit would continue to be present in the home of her childhood whereas now both body and spirit are gone—is carried to her new home. There she changes her mourning for a festal garb. A feast is celebrated at which all the members of the families on both sides are again present, and during the feast the young couple withdraw to another room, specially decorated with specified emblems of long life and prosperity, where in the presence of only the middleman and his wife and of two young girls who act as servants, they pledge each other, in very solemn form, three times from each of three cups of wine (*saké*). This ceremony, which is known as the *san-san-no-ku-do*—literally three-three-nine-times—three cups, three pledges with each, nine times in all, is the essential part of the marriage celebration, combining in itself the giving and pledging of troth, the giving and receiving a ring and the joining of hands, and when it is completed, the two are man and wife. Then, after again

changing their dresses, they return to the scene of the feast and receive the congratulations of all present. When the feast is over, but before the party breaks up, they are conducted again by the middleman and his wife to the marriage chamber where the ceremony of pledging each other nine times is repeated, with the distinction that, while on the first occasion the bride drank first, on the second the husband gives the first indication of their relative positions in the future by drinking first. Then the whole ceremonial is over. From beginning to end religion has played no part in it. No priest has assisted at any stage ; there has been no public display at temple or elsewhere ; even the bridal progress from the old to the new home takes place in the shadow of the night ; there are no descriptions of dress or ceremony, seldom even a bald announcement of the marriage in the Press, which contains no columns of births, deaths or marriages. It may be added that there is no honeymoon. Friends are invited to view the wedding presents on the day following the marriage, but from the morning the bride enters on her new duties and begins at once to accustom herself to her new surroundings. One interruption occurs when, a few days afterwards, the wife, clothed in a dress that is the gift of the husband, with him pays a ceremonious visit to her former home and, in the evening another festal gathering of both families takes place, on this occasion with much less formality than was observed at the celebration of the marriage, but that is the only break in her new career.

We have left, as do the Japanese themselves, the legal formalities to the last. They are simplicity itself, and the time at which they take place is an instance of the many in which Japanese do things in precisely the opposite order or way to those to which Europeans are accustomed. It has been seen that marriages take place in the night and not the daytime, and that the social gathering is held at the house not of the parents of the bride but of the bridegroom.

**Legal
Formalities
of Marriage.**

The legal formalities do not precede but follow the social ceremony. They consist merely of the two, accompanied by the parents of either or both, if both are under the legal age, attending at the Local Registry Office, and there causing the bride's name to be removed from the family register of her own parents to that of the parents of her husband. This may be done at any time that is found convenient, a week, even a month or longer after the marriage has been in actual existence. It is a simple business affair, and so little ceremony is observed in regard to it that it may be done by letter if personal attendance at the Registry is inconvenient.

As the legal formalities are simple so are those of divorce. All that the law requires is that the parties should attend at the Local Registry and intimate their desire that the marriage should be at an end, and then the wife's name is erased from the register of her husband's family, and restored to that of her own, the converse process being followed in the case in which the husband has been adopted into and become a member of his wife's family. The consent of both parties is necessary and, where either is under the age of twenty-five years at the time of the divorce, that of the parent or guardian is also necessary, but in practice the will of the husband or his parents is the sole determining factor. If the wife at first refuses, her life can be made so intolerable that her ultimate consent is soon wrung from her, and against the petty cruelties, even if they are physical, for which daily life affords so many opportunities, she has no legal protection. No cruelty on the part of the husband debars him from his right to end the marriage whenever he wills it, though it does give a right to the wife to apply for a legal divorce if the husband refuses it. It must, however, be of a very serious nature—either involving personal danger or great physical pain, or if only moral, so gross as to be intolerable—before a court of law would entertain it, or the opinion even of her own relatives approve it. Adultery on the husband's part, even if committed in his own

**Legal
Formalities of
Divorce.**

house that is shared with his wife, is in itself no ground for complaint on her side, still less for legal divorce.

The wife has only one protection against marital cruelty or injustice. The unit of all life in Japan is the family, and

**Legal
Protection of
Wives.**

not, as in Europe, the individual. All the Japanese people are members of one great family, whose head is the Emperor, and the principle descends to the smallest groups connected by the tie of name or blood which are found in the community. All civil law is made for the family. It is the family interests alone that both law and custom regard, and the welfare and wishes of the individual are entirely subordinated in every incident of life to those of the family, the family meaning not the parents and children of one household, but all the households and their members which are subordinate to the same living ascendant who is acknowledged as the head of all, to whom all owe obedience and whose power over all, though not unlimited, is large. The younger sons may leave their parents' house, become self-supporting and marry, but they remain members of the old family, subject still to the influence of the head, who may be an elder brother, even an eldest brother's son if the father or brother is dead or has abdicated. When family disputes have to be settled or great family decisions taken, there is no washing in public courts of law of domestic linen, whether dirty or not. A council of the whole family is called together by the head, the matter fully discussed, and its decisions accepted as final. To such a council of both her own and her husband's families, an injured wife can always appeal and the worst of husbands submits to its verdict if his own family agree in it and, what is perhaps more strange, invariably acts upon it. The wife who demands the divorce that he refuses can obtain it if the family council say she is entitled to it. The wife, whom he proposed to divorce against her will, remains in his house as his wife if the council so order. The husband, if he can afford it, consoles himself with a concubine to whose

maintenance, even to whose presence in her own house, the wife makes no objection, nor are the family on either side in any sense scandalised by it.

The Registry to which we have referred is not, as with us, merely one for recording births, marriages or deaths, but one

**Family
Registers.**

which plays so great a part in national life that it merits a description of its own. Every town and rural district has its own official registry, usually in the office of the mayor, and in each there is a complete record of all the members of every family that is domiciled in the district. The members, even the head, may move to other districts, as the careers which they choose in life may suggest, may be away for decades, even for life, but their domicile continues in that in which the first register of the family was opened at the time when the family was founded. In each register, the fullest particulars are entered in regard to every member of the family, the dates of births, marriages and deaths, the rank, office, occupation and residence of each, the names of ancestors and of descendants and their wives and children, adoptions, expulsions, abdications, disinheritances, the exact degree of relationship of all with the head of the family, and any other items suggested by the conditions that are peculiar to Japanese life. When any member of a family moves to another district, he gives notice to the registrars both of the district of the family and of that in which he takes up his new residence, but his domicile remains in the first. The system, which is most elaborate and strictly observed in its most minute details, was one of the institutions which Japan acquired from China in the great period of reform in the seventh century when, as has been told in a previous chapter, the civilisation of China was made the foundation of that of Japan. It has continued down to the present day and has remained unmodified by the legal reforms that, in our own generation, have been adopted from the West. The new codes of law, largely influenced as they have been by Western jurisprudence, have left the old registration system untouched,

though they have regulated family councils, adoptions, and the rights and duties both of the head and of the members of the family, and it still remains practically as it was thirteen hundred years ago. By it the humblest Japanese is able to trace his descent for generations back and to know without fail all his relations of every degree though they may be widely separated. It enables the whereabouts of every individual to be traced at once and so facilitates the administration of justice and conscription, and it renders the census of the nation easy, inexpensive and infallible.

The greatest of all the principles with which the Confucian cult has impregnated its adherents is that of filial piety in the widest sense of the word, but next to it comes, **Funeral Ceremonies.** it may be said, the significance of the marriage and funeral ceremonies and, in Japan, the funeral are perhaps the most important of the two. They are, at least, those which are invested with most outward display. Unlike the marriage celebration, in which the ministers of religion take no share, that of the funeral is continuously attended by priests from the moment of death till the last moment in the cemetery. In the house, prayers are continuously recited and the ceremonies at the grave-side are concluded with what is both a prayer and a sermon, a prayer for the repose of the soul of the dead and a sermon commemorating his virtues while alive. Only the members of the family take part in the marriage celebrations. All friends and business constituents are at once informed either by letter or by a notice in the papers, a custom which has recently become common, of the occurrence of death, and all assist at the funeral. It may be celebrated according to either Buddhist or Shintoist rites. In both, the utmost veneration is shown to the corpse. Both are conducted at a cost which is lavish in proportion to the means of the mourners, but as not only the relatives but friends unconnected by the ties of

blood contribute generously towards the expense, the burthen does not fall too heavily on the family.

With the Buddhists, the body, dressed in grave-clothes that have been made by the daughters or other near female

**Buddhist
Funerals.**

relatives, is placed in a round or square coffin in a sitting posture, the head bent downwards towards the knees, this being the attitude of a Buddhist in religious meditation. Very little time is allowed to elapse between death and the funeral. The law requires a delay of twenty-four hours, and this period is, except in the case of persons of high rank, not long exceeded. This is necessarily so in summer, but the custom created to meet what is unavoidable in summer has been extended throughout the whole year. On the night preceding the funeral, all the family, in the Japanese sense, and invited friends and business connections practise a night-long vigil, which, in some of its characteristics, resembles an Irish wake, but is entirely free from any instances of quarrelling or excessive drinking. Food and drink are provided in abundance but prayers and the burning of incense and the recalling of happy memories of the dead occupy a large portion of the time and all is done reverently and soberly. Violent outbursts of grief are unknown. Even silent tears are seldom seen, and faces are but rarely even sad. Dignity is never forgotten, and no matter how deep the sorrow, etiquette requires that it must not be painfully obtruded on those who share it to a minor degree. They must be smilingly welcomed and they, on their part, do not offer sympathy but not infrequently do offer congratulations, not that the dead is gone but that his life has been long and happy, or successful. Death loses all its terrors in Japan and retains all its poetry. It brings none of the sorrows that it does to Christians, and it realises all the highest ideals of Christianity, thanks to God who has taken the dead brother or sister, confidence that he or she shall be met again, and an equally confident trust in the earthly future of those who are left behind.

On the day of the funeral, which usually takes place in the afternoon, all the mourners assemble in the best room of the house where prayers are recited again by the priest, and incense burned before the coffin, both by the priest and the mourners. The

Burials.

The coffin is then carried to the cemetery by bearers clad in dark blue coats, preceded by hired attendants carrying stands of flowers and flags with inscriptions commemorative of the virtues of the dead, and by the officiating priests, and followed by a long procession of all the mourners in carriages or in jinrikishas or on foot. More prayers are recited by the priests at the cemetery and the body is then either cremated or interred, the ashes in the former case being carefully gathered and inclosed in an urn which is subsequently interred either in the local cemetery or in the district in which the family has its original domicile. Sometimes the ashes, or even only a tooth that has been gathered from them, are sent to the great monastery of Koya San in the province of Kishiu, and their burial in the cemetery of the monastery is said to open the gates of paradise at once to the dead. Cremation is entirely a product of Buddhism ; it had no existence in Japan prior to the introduction of Buddhism, and even now the practice is only observed among a limited number of Buddhist sects.

When a funeral is conducted according to the rites of Shintoism, the body, after being washed and clothed in new garments, is placed by the nearest relatives in the coffin, made of the finest and whitest wood, in which the body reclines at full length.

**Shinto
Funerals.**

Offerings of flowers and food are placed before it. Finally, the funeral procession, comprising standard, torch and flower bearers, all dressed in white, priests and mourners, proceeds on foot to the cemetery, where the coffin is lowered into a deep grave by eight men.

Mourning, testified by white clothing, by fasting and by frequent visits to the grave, is observed for periods varying

from thirteen months in regard to clothing, and fifty days' fasting in the case of loss of parents or a husband, to seven and three days respectively in that of distant

Mourning. relations, and in mourning, as in other matters, the comparative inferiority of the female sex

has its effect in fixing the duration of the period. While a widow wears white clothing for thirteen months and fasts for fifty days, the same periods as those for her parents, the widower need only fast for twenty days, and he may lay aside his mourning garb after ninety days. Both periods also vary greatly for grandparents, according as they are on the father's or mother's side. In every household, there is one corner where stands the family altar, and before it offerings of food are daily placed, which are supposed to be partaken of by every absent member of the family, and the same household rites are daily observed for the dead parent or child as though the absence was only temporary. Once every year, in the month of August, a festival lasting three days is observed, when the souls of the dead are supposed to return simultaneously to earth. In every household the best rooms are prepared for their reception, offerings of food are laid out, and the graves are newly decorated and at night illuminated with lanterns. On the last night of the festival bonfires to illuminate the return-way to spirit-land are lighted in all the cemeteries which then become a blaze of illumination. In the south, boats are made of finely plaited straw, varying in size according to the means of the family. Lanterns are hung all round them and they are laden with food, and then they are launched late at night, and in them the souls of the dead make their voyage back to spirit-land. Most of the boats quickly perish, but they have often been seen by passing ships many days afterwards on the open seas at long distances from the nearest shore.

The faith that death is only a temporary parting is firm and universal ; none on earth doubt that in spirit-land the souls are ever taking part in the daily lives of their descendants,

sharing their joys and sorrows as though still on earth, and watching over their welfare. The loved ones who are dead are never forgotten. Their graves are frequently visited and the visits are continued at fixed intervals, frequent at first and separated only by days, less so after a full year has passed, when they begin to be made at intervals of years, but they are never wholly abandoned until after the hundredth anniversary, and graves so old that the inscriptions on the tombstone have become illegible but bright with decorations of freshly gathered flowers are a common sight in all Japanese cemeteries. The sufferings of want are never added to sorrow. The loss of the breadwinner makes no difference in the social position or comfort of the family. The eldest son succeeds to the rights or responsibilities of the dead father, and on him falls the obligation of providing for the necessities of his brothers and sisters. In feudal days he inherited, as of right, without any regard to his own wishes or qualifications, whatever office his father held in the fiefs or his shop or land, and though feudalism has gone, its spirit remains as regards succession, and it is encouraged by the law. It is only in recent years that personal ability, industry, or good luck have enabled individuality to assert itself, and those who have been favoured by them perhaps to acquire great annual incomes which must of necessity die with the earners. In these cases there must be some derogation in the fortunes of the family, taking the term in its narrower European sense, but not only does actual want never come, but it is seldom that even a change has to be made in the family mode of life. Prudence and thrift that are not exceeded by the Swiss have provided against it. All life among all classes in Japan is unostentatious. No efforts are made in any class to live up to the standards of those higher in rank or wealth, and yearly earnings are not squandered as they are acquired. Surpluses after the necessary current expenses have been defrayed, are saved and invested. Life insurance, altogether

**Remembrance
of the Dead.**

a new institution which had its birth in 1881, is growing in favour, in keeping with the new order of affairs, and in 1913 there were more than a million and a quarter policies in existence for an aggregate insurance of 646 million yen.

There are two social institutions in Japan which, though not absolutely peculiar to it, are carried to a degree that is unknown in any other country, both of which have existed for more than twelve hundred years, both of which were first practised in the Imperial family, from which they have gradually extended to the very humblest in the Empire, and both are among the most important factors of the national life at the present day. They are those of adoption and abdication.

**Adoption and
Abdication.**

Europeans have often wondered at the unbroken continuity of the Imperial line which has lasted for 2,500 years, a period not even remotely approached by any other dynasty in the world, or at the curious illustrations that the history of Japanese art affords in every one of its branches of the inheritance by a son of all the talent of a distinguished father. They might equally wonder at the ancient lineage of the nobles, most of whom can trace their descent in an uninterrupted succession from father to son for more than a thousand years, or at very humble families of the trading classes, among whom a continuous family record extending over several generations is by no means uncommon. The explanation is to be found in the practice of adoption. When a father, whether he was the Emperor on the throne, an artist or a tradesman, had no son to carry on the family line, he simply adopted the son of another who was blessed with more than one, and the son so adopted immediately acquired all the moral and legal rights of one who had been born in the ordinary course of nature and succeeded in due course to the rank, title and property of his new father.

**Effects of
Adoption on
Continuity of
Families.**

In the case of the Emperor, the adopted son was, of course, taken from among princely families directly descended from former occupants of the throne and therefore of the pure blood of the old Imperial line. Among the nobility and gentry he is taken from another family of the same rank of life, not necessarily related but as a rule descended from an ancestor who, however remote, is common to both. Artists choose the most promising pupil in the studio and traders the most keen-witted and zealous clerk of the counting-house or the best assistant in the shop. In the latter case, the adopter need not be, and often is not, sonless. The artist is glad to give his name to a brilliant pupil, and the merchant or trader to a trustworthy and able employee, and they requite the obligation by, in their turn, adopting the real son of their patron, so that both name and property ultimately descend in the true line. In all ranks, if the head of the family has no son of his own but a younger brother, he adopts the brother as his son and heir, and the common practice of adopting the husband of a daughter has already been described. It can be inferred from what has been said that adoption is not confined to children. So far from that, adults are more usually the subjects of it, and cases were formerly not at all rare in which the adopted son was even older than his new father, though modern law now lays down that he must be younger.

It would be easy to quote many instances of the puzzles which the practice has in our own day occasioned to Europeans in their endeavour to recognise the exact relationships of their Japanese friends. Two will suffice. Many years ago, when the navy was in the earliest stages of development, a young prince of the first rank in the Imperial family, who had chosen a naval career, served as a midshipman in the *Iron Duke*, then the British flagship on the China station, on board of which his courtliness, zeal, and the promise which he gave of marked professional ability in the future won the affection and

Guiding
Principles of
Adoption.

Instances of
Adoption.

admiration of all the officers on board, from the admiral downwards. While as yet his command of the English language was not very fluent, he used to puzzle his comrades of the gun-room by telling them, "My brother is my father." His knowledge of English did not extend to an explanation of the system of adoption. His elder brother was the head of the family and he, having no sons of his own, adopted his younger brother, many years younger than himself, as his son and successor. The young midshipman of the *Iron Duke* subsequently became the tenth Imperial Prince of Arisugawa, an admiral of high distinction, who served his country well, both in peace and war, who, until a son was born to the late Emperor, was recognised as the heir-presumptive to the Imperial throne. The second instance is also of many years ago. One of the greatest of the "elder statesmen" who founded Modern Japan, of whom there are now only five surviving, had two children, a son and a daughter. Both were well known in the European society of Tokio, bright, smiling and intelligent children whom their father and mother delighted to send to European families to mix in the games and pleasures of European children. The present writer knew both well from their earliest years and, strange to say, always found a strong family resemblance in the features of the two. Years passed on and the two children grew up, brought up all the time apparently as brother and sister. Then the announcement was made that the two were to be married and the wedding was not very long afterwards celebrated with great éclat. Both were the adopted children of their father, and not even a remote tie of blood existed between them.

The importance which is attached to the system and the extent to which it prevails may be estimated from the fact that, in the chapter of the modern civil code which deals with the law of parents and children, thirty-nine clauses are devoted to adoption and adopted children, while sixteen are sufficient for what are called in the code "true children,"

Law and
Practice of
Adoption.

whether legitimate or illegitimate. Over both the legal rights of the parents are the same. The necessary formalities are as simple as those of marriage and divorce. There are no elaborate deeds to be drawn up and signed, sealed and delivered. All that is required is the notice to the district registrar of both parties. Consent is the main requisite and it must be given by the parties themselves, by the parents of the adopted child no matter what its age may be—every person whose father is still alive and still vested with legal authority is a child in the eyes of the law—by the wife of the adopting father, by the family council, when a child under the age of fifteen is given in adoption by a stepfather or a widowed mother, and by the head of the family when the adoption is made by a member who is not the head. The most curious provision is that which provides for adoption by will. In this case the registration formalities are performed by the executor, and the adoption takes effect from the date of the new parent's death. The principal restrictions under the existing law are that the adopter must be of full age, that the child must be younger than himself, that the adoption cannot take place to the detriment of a son who is already the heir to the headship of the family, and that a guardian cannot adopt his ward. The dissolution of the tie, close as it is, is only less easy than that of the tie of marriage in the fact that an adopted son cannot be bullied so easily as a wife into giving a consent to a course which may not be in his interests. It is simply a matter of arrangement between the parties, and, when the parties cannot come to terms, the courts, as in divorce, have the power to interfere in specified cases, the principal of which are cruelty, desertion or criminal or disgraceful conduct. In practice, the tie once formed is rarely broken. When it is, it is, as a rule, in the case of an adopted son-in-law who is afterwards divorced, when the dissolution of the marriage involves also that of the adoption.

Widely extended as is the practice of adoption, it is not so much so as that which it has become the custom to term

"abdication," but should more properly be called "retirement." The latter is in fact a closer translation of the Japanese

**Origin of
Abdication.**

word *in-kiyo*, which in its most literally-translated sense should be construed "hidden dwelling," dwelling not referring to the house but to the life of the occupant. The term abdication no doubt owes its use to the fact that the first persons to indulge in the practice were occupants of the throne. A cardinal element of the Buddhist doctrine already referred to in the chapter on history is that perfect peace and happiness on earth can only be obtained by a complete withdrawal from all the cares and anxieties of life. During the three centuries, the sixth, seventh, and eighth of the Christian Era, in which Japan was converted to Buddhism, six Empresses happened to reign, and as this doctrine appealed more strongly to their religious fervour than it would have done to men, and also to their womanly sentiments, each in turn gave up the throne in her lifetime to her legal successor, and retired into private life to spend her last days in religious meditation. Emperors afterwards followed their example, at first voluntarily, later on under the compulsion of the Fujiwara ministers, who made use of the practice as a lever to remove from the throne a sovereign who gave any indication of fretting under their domination or of asserting his own Imperial prerogatives. When religion ceased to be the stimulating motive, it continued for many centuries to be the custom to observe, by shaved crowns and priestly garb, the outer symbols of monastic life, but even that pretence ceased in time, and in outward appearance the abdicated elder at the present day only differs from his successor by his grey hair and bowed figure.

From the court, the practice spread to the nobility, and from them to the people, and long before the Middle Ages it had become universal in all ranks and classes. Men, as soon as they arrive at the border-land of middle age, no matter what is their calling in life, give up all their active work and their family responsibility to their heirs, and retire to



DAI BUTSU OR " GREAT BUDDHA " AT KAMAKURA

enjoy ease and freedom from care, not in monastic seclusion or in religious meditation but in the cultivation in their own houses of the hobby that most appeals to their tastes and pleasures. The son succeeds to the management of the property or business, and to all the incidental cares and responsibilities of the family. There is no fear that the father, with the loss of his *patria potestas*, should suffer want, or even discomfort. Filial piety, as before remarked the strongest element in the moral code, prevents that. If it fails, public opinion and law are both present to enforce his duty on the son; and so strong are both, that the parents have prior claims on the son's support even to those of his own wife and children.

In the present day, men continue in active life longer than they did when their conduct was guided by the principles of Chinese civilisation and religion, and indeed the law now forbids abdication under sixty years of age without the fullest consent of the heir unless the court of justice is satisfied that there is good reason for it, but the practice, though carried out at a later age, is still universal and is one of the most prominent features of domestic life. The sixtieth year is the grand climacteric of life, which is not, as with us, reached on the completion of ten septennial cycles, but on the first occasion on which the Zodiacal and Calendar signs of the year of birth are again in harmony, and the fact that this occurs only after the lapse of sixty years may have suggested the legal limit for voluntary abdication. There are twelve Zodiacal signs which in their order are the Rat, Bull, Tiger, Hare, Dragon, Serpent, Horse, Goat, Ape, Cock, Dog, and Boar, and ten Calendar signs called "celestial stems," named after the five elements, wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, and each of these is sub-divided into two parts, elder and younger. Both Zodiacal and Calendar signs are used in their regular order in combination to define the years, and sixty

years pass before the same combination recurs. The present year, 1914, is *Ki no e*, *Tora*, that is, Wood, elder, the Tiger. Last year was *Midzu no to*, *Ushi*, or Water, younger, the Bull, and these combinations will not again occur till 1974 and 1973. While, however, the grand climacteric is reached and the legal limit attained only after the lapse of full sixty years, a man may in common reputation among his friends be sixty years of age before it comes. Age is popularly reckoned not from birthdays but from and inclusive of the year of birth, irrespective of the day or month in which it occurred. A man born on the 31st of December is, throughout his after-life, of the same age as one born on the 1st of January in the same year, and both are two years old on the 1st of January in the next year. The first would, therefore, among his friends be sixty years old when in reality only fifty-eight and one day. A child born on the 31st of December, 1913, will be nominally sixty years old on the 1st of January, 1971, but his grand climacteric and his legal age of sixty will only be reached in 1973, when *Midzu no to*, *Ushi* next comes round.

The rights which parents exercise over their children, both natural and adopted, are not defined in law but are well established by custom, and the law only interferes at the parents' request to punish a refractory child or to restrain the injustice, cruelty, or extravagance of a father who grossly abuses his authority or position. Modern law has, so far as it has dealt with the subject, modified impliedly and specifically the arbitrary powers which a father formerly possessed. What these were may be estimated from the provisions of the old criminal code which was in force until 1882. The father was permitted to use any violence to his children but, unless in the case of wilful murder or of the death of the child resulting from excessive punishment for a transgression on its part, he incurred no legal penalty, while in the two cases just mentioned, his punishment was three years' penal servitude. On the other hand, a child guilty of even a common assault

**Parental
Rights.**

on parents or paternal grandparents was liable to penal servitude for ten years and to decapitation if death resulted from the assault, and these penalties were specific, no discretion being left to the judge to modify them under extenuating circumstances. Of course, the provisions of the modern criminal code, modelled to a large extent on those of Europe, are very different, but the influence that was established on the national character by the enforcement during many centuries of the drastic provisions of the old code was too deeply founded to be eradicated in one or two generations, and public opinion, even at the present day, still justifies any severity, short of maiming or killing, on the part of a parent, while it would view with horror as a sacrilegious outrage the least approach to violence on the part of a son towards his parents. The power which a father can exercise is still large. If a son's conduct is incorrigible, he can be expelled from the family, when he becomes practically a social outcast. The father, no matter what the son's age is, is still empowered to administer corporal punishment, and if he is unwilling or physically unable to take that remedy, he can apply to the law, which provides a punishment, not exceeding six months' imprisonment, to be inflicted on the complaint of the father on a dissipated, disobedient, or refractory son.

On the other side, the son now enjoys a certain measure of protection which had no existence in the old days. The

**Rights and
Protection of
Sons.**

father, who grossly abuses his position by cruelty or misconduct, may be legally deprived of all his rights and one, who mismanages or wastes the family estate or property or that which the son has acquired by inheritance under the will or gift of a stranger, can be deprived of his control. The son has also, like the wife, a domestic court of appeal in the family council. Its consent is necessary before he can be expelled from the family. As a rule, it may be stated that the relations between father and sons in Japan are absolutely harmonious. The authority of the father is so well established by religion,

traditions and custom that, however much the son may fret against it on the rare occasions when it is tyrannically used, he never dreams of outward rebellion and he carries his submission to his mother so far that, as stated elsewhere, he will at her behest consent to divorce a wife in whom he himself finds no fault. During thirty years' residence in all parts of Japan, in which he gained as much experience and knowledge of Japanese life among all classes of society as was possible for a European, the present writer never knew of one single instance of an openly estranged father and son.

So far we have spoken only of the eldest son, the one who succeeds to the family authority and responsibility. The position of younger sons in old days, when all

Younger Sons. were permanently rooted in the districts of their births and feudal obligations prevented any search for new scenes of employment, was almost of as little influence or importance as that of the daughters. They remained as dependents throughout their lives on their eldest brothers, owing to them their means of support and the same unqualified submission as they had given to their father, and their only avenue of escape was found in the adoption into other sonless families in the same fief of which in time they became the heads. Now all the Empire is open to them. The public services, the universities, the great commercial companies and foreign adventure give them opportunities which were unknown in the days of feudalism, and the majority leave their paternal homes when they have attained manhood, and those who are successful in life found new families of their own. Those who are not successful enough to do so remain subordinate members of their original family, subject to the authority of its head and of the family council, but on the other hand entitled to claim support, not only for themselves but for their wives and children, if they have any, if they are not able to provide it themselves.

There is no limit to the years during which this obligation continues to rest on the head of the family, so that his position,

if vested with great authority, is liable to equally great burthens. The claims made on him increase in ratio with his wealth, position, or influence. One of the

**Obligations of
Heads of Families
to
Relatives.** wealthiest bankers in Japan once told the present writer that relations demanded to be supported by him whose claim could only be

established when their descent had been traced backwards for more than two hundred years. This custom has its national advantages and disadvantages. It is the explanation of the immense numbers of employees that are found in all commercial and industrial companies, as managers and directors, even foremen, who have impecunious relations to provide for, do so most easily for themselves by giving their relatives posts in the concerns over which they preside. On the other hand, it renders poor-law relief entirely unnecessary. Even the poorest and humblest in Japan can trace their descent through the public registration offices several generations backwards, and the cases are very rare in which they cannot find someone better off than themselves from whom they can demand the fulfilment of his legal and moral obligations.

CHAPTER VIII

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

THE Japanese language is of the Turanian or Oural-Altaic stock, possessing the structural characteristics of all surviving languages that owe their origin to that family

**Affinity of
Japanese
with Turanian
Languages.**

—Turkish, Finnish, Tungusic and Korean.

It has the same system of agglutination, under which the roots of words undergo no change and the inflexions of other languages are replaced by particles, affixed to the roots and blended with them only so far as will satisfy the requirements of euphony. Other semblances are the conversion of prepositions into postpositions, and the precedence, in all cases, of qualifying words to those which they define, of the adjective or the genitive to the word it qualifies and the explanatory or dependent to the principle clause in the sentence. The objective case also invariably precedes the verb. There is no relative pronoun, and the idea of possession is frequently replaced by that of being. Thus, neither the Turks nor the Japanese say "I have no money." What is the object in English becomes the subject and, like the Turks, the Japanese almost invariably say "Money is not" (*Kane wa nai*). On the other hand, the original vocabulary of Japan, that of her language before she began to feel the influence of China, was entirely her own and presents no affinities to that of any other country in the world save Korea, and in this case the affinities are so slight that the utmost ingenuity of philologists, both English and Japanese, has been required to trace them. Interpreters are not mentioned as having been employed in such communications as took place between the two people in the earliest period of the mythological history of Japan, but when authentic history began, interpreters were found

necessary, and there is frequent mention in the *Nihongi*—the ancient *Chronicles of Japan*—both of interpreters and of Japanese studying Korean. If, therefore, the vocabularies of both were akin at some very remote period, they soon wandered off in different directions and became so distinct that their affinities are no longer recognisable. The subject has been fully treated by Dr. Aston in a paper, "The Comparative Study of the Japanese and Korean Languages," in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1879), and in pamphlets on the common origin of the two languages, published more recently by Dr. Kanazawa, a learned philologist of the University of Tokio.

The principal characteristic of the Japanese vocabulary, in its own form, is its musical softness, in which it surpasses Italian. All the words end in vowels, the only exception being the consonant "n," and in the formation of the word, vowels and consonants are so harmoniously blended that they render the pronunciation of the whole gentle and pleasing to the most sensitive ear. Unfortunately, pure Japanese is no longer spoken. The nearest approach to it is in the language used by women, whose speech, at the present day, falls infinitely softer on the ear than that of men, a result due, not as a scoffing critic might suppose to the lips of the fair ones who use it, but to the intrinsic qualities of the words that fall from them. The cause of the decadence of the pure language is the large introduction into it of the monosyllabic vocables of China, which began with the introduction of Chinese civilisation in the sixth and seventh centuries, has continued ever since, and in the present generation has been enormously intensified by the necessity of finding equivalents for the infinite number of new subjects, both abstract and concrete, which Western civilisation has introduced to the knowledge of the people. The language spoken by educated men in Japan is, it may be safely said, now more Chinese than Japanese, and it has in consequence lost a great measure of its old softness.

Characteristics
of Vocabulary.

The Chinese language consists of an immense number of monosyllabic roots. Each monosyllable has its own distinct meaning, and each may be used, as occasion requires, by itself or in combination, in any order, with two or three others, so that an infinite number of combinations can be made, sufficient to convey any possible meaning, no matter how abstruse, or to provide terms for any new invention, no matter how intricate. The Japanese at first indented on the Chinese vocabulary to express the new ideas they obtained from China in the early centuries ; they gradually continued their borrowing till the nineteenth century, and when Western civilisation came, it grew to such an extent that the results now, in themselves, fill large dictionaries.

A few examples will render our explanation more easy. Everyone knows the jinrikisha, the comfortable and convenient hansom-in-miniature which is drawn by a man or men. It first appeared in 1870, and a concise name being required for it, it was at once found in the three monosyllabic vocables signifying "man-strength-car," which is the exact meaning of the word "jin-riki-sha." It exactly describes the subject, though an ingenious American suggested that "Pull-man-car" would have done so more effectively. Balloons soon became known. They were called "wind-boats." A torpedo was called "water-thunder," and when a fish-torpedo followed, four vocables were called into requisition, and it was called "fish-form-water-thunder." A phonograph was termed "gather-voice-contrivance." A photograph, "copy-truth"; and a lightning conductor, "escape-lightning-needle," the spike, resembling a needle in its form, being the part that most prominently strikes the eye. So far with concrete terms. With the abstract, the principle was just as easy. Constitutional was termed "law-government-real"; democracy, "people-power"; philanthropy, "universal-love-heart"; selfishness, "will-following."

**The Chinese
Language.**

**Examples of
Terms formed
from Chinese
Monosyllables.**

Selfishness, of course, existed in Japan before China was known, and there is a pure Japanese word for it, *temaegatte*, but the concise, coined Chinese term invariably takes its place in the conversation of educated men. As illustrations of scientific terms, we may quote electricity, "lightning-spirit"; geology, "earth-substance-science"; and hydraulic, "water-compress-strength."

It is not to be imagined that, when we speak of the Chinese portion of the Japanese vocabulary, the words are pronounced as they are in China. As used by a Japanese, they would be as unintelligible to a modern Chinaman as the whole conversation of two Japanese gentlemen, discussing current affairs at the present day, would be to one of their countrymen who died forty or fifty years ago, were he to come to earth again. When the Japanese began to borrow Chinese, they at first adopted the pronunciation of the province of Go, the province which contained Nankin, the southern capital, to which the earliest students from Japan had recourse for their studies. Later on the pronunciation of the North of China was adopted as the truer standard, and it, known as the Kan-on, gradually but never entirely replaced the Go-on. Both are in use in the present day, the same word, according to its context, being pronounced sometimes in one, sometimes in the other way. In both, the Japanese no doubt did their best to acquire the correct Chinese pronunciation but the nearest approach they could make to it was not more successful than are their attempts at the present day to utter English words, which, on the tongues of those who do not speak English, often become nearly unrecognisable. Their best efforts, for example, to utter the name of the present writer never come nearer than "Ronguhorudo," and while there were no doubt Japanese who mastered the most difficult obstacles in the pronunciation of ancient Chinese, just as there are plenty at the present day who acquire all the most intricate technicalities of the English pronunciation, that of both the

Go-on and the Kan-on, as adopted by the mass of the people, is nothing more than a corruption of the Chinese spoken more than twelve hundred years ago. It bears no resemblance whatever to any dialect of China spoken in the present day.

Of the other characteristics of the Japanese language, we may say that the predicate is always placed at the end of the

**Characteristics
of Japanese
Construction.**

clause to which it belongs ; that one sentence may consist of a long series of these clauses, terminating in the principal predicate of the whole ; that nouns are often used as adjectives but have neither gender, number, nor any inflexions to distinguish their cases ; that adjectives have declensions but no degrees of comparison ; that verbs have no person, but, on the other hand, have negative voices and both causative and potential forms which are unknown in English. There are only four irregular verbs in the whole language. There is no relative pronoun, and so-called possessives are only personal pronouns with the addition of certain particles. The deficiency of a relative pronoun is remedied by subversing the sentence in which it occurs, and converting the predicate into an adjective qualifying the subject. The "man who went" becomes in Japanese the "went man," and when a string of successive relatives occurs in one English sentence, the translation is appallingly complicated. Personal pronouns are only used when they are essential to avoid ambiguity. Their place is taken by a most elaborate system of honorific terms, according to which the words vary as they are used to or of superiors, equals or inferiors. Ill-informed English writers frequently burlesque the Japanese honorifics by translating them literally in such expressions as "honourable tea," "honourable house," etc. The translation is literally not wrong but idiomatically it should be simply "your tea," "your house," etc.

So far we have referred to the language as it is spoken. Other languages are written as they are spoken, but it is not so in Japan, where the written differs so essentially from

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來ル十八日午後二時三十分赤阪

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明治二十八年十一月三日

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A COURT INVITATION

the spoken that the two almost form two separate languages. We shall not particularise the structural differences between them, and shall only attempt to convey an idea of the system of writing. Originally the Japanese had none of their own, and the art was unknown to them till they acquired it from China in the fifth century. Then, China having no alphabet, they had perforce to adopt the Chinese system of ideographs by which ideas and objects are expressed in pictures or hieroglyphs instead of letters.

**The System
of Writing.**

According to this system, every word is expressed in writing by a picture, which originally was intended to represent the object it signifies, though its form gradually changed, or by a combination of pictures.

**Construction of
Chinese
Characters.** The first pictures were of the most common objects, such as man, woman, child, sun, moon, heart, earth, mountain, wind, metal, stone, etc., or the most simple actions, such as seeing, speaking, eating, using, walking, etc. "Man" was represented by two strokes representing the legs outstretched; the sun, by a circle with a dot in the centre (subsequently converted into a square with a line). The ideographs for horse, bird, and others are too complicated to describe without illustrations, but their resemblance to the original pictures of what they signify can be traced in their present forms. The first series to be devised was naturally too limited for human requirements, and it was gradually increased by the reduplication of the originals, by the combination of two or more of them or by the addition of any number, from one to twenty, of new strokes of the pen. In the reduplications and combinations, logical reference to the signification of the originals was always observed. Thus, the "character," as the ideograph is as a rule technically called, for "tree" when tripled became a "forest"; that for "woman" became, under the same process, "adultery"; the two characters which, when separated, signified woman and child, when combined into one, became "love"; the

three, "woman," "heart," and "again," became "anger"; those for "sun" and "moon," "brightness," and to give a more complicated instance, the three characters for "roof," "man" and "hundred," in combination, became an "inn." By extending these combinations and by additions of strokes on a systematised plan, the number gradually became sufficient for all the possible requirements of language, and the whole number of characters now in existence is said to exceed 70,000.

The Japanese adopted this system *en bloc*, but with modifications of their own. They still adhere to the Chinese form of

each character in print or in formal documents, but for ordinary purposes they more or less contract it, so much so that, in its most contracted form it has lost almost all resemblance to the original. The two forms, the original and contracted, are what are known as the "square" and "cursive" writing. They also pronounced each character in two ways, according to the systems of pronunciation already described, and they introduced a further complication by also reading the Chinese meaning of the character in pure Japanese. And finally, they also used it phonetically, entirely regardless of its primitive meaning. For instance, the character for strength may be pronounced in Sinico-Japanese "riki" or "rioku," but not indiscriminately, for while "jinriki" means man-strength, if it is desired to express horse-power (strength), "barioku" must be used. If the same character is read in pure Japanese it is "chikara," and as to the word for "horse" it may be read "ba" or "ma" in Sinico-Japanese, "muma" in pure Japanese, or it may simply be used phonetically to convey the sound "ma" or "ba" if, for instance, it is desired to write the first syllable of Bavaria. Foreign proper names are written in two ways. Sometimes they are literally translated, as in the cases of Pacific Ocean, "Sea of Great Peace," and the Mediterranean Sea, "Sea of the Middle Land." More often they are written phonetically as "Pari," "Paris," the two characters, respectively read in

**Modifications
of Chinese System
of Writing in
Japan.**

Sinico-Japanese as "Pa" and "Ri," meaning in their real significance, the first a symbolic figure in Chinese philosophy (Japanese *tomoe*), and the second a village (Japanese *sato*).

The phonetic use of the characters was simplified by the invention in the eighth century of the Japanese syllabaries.

**Japanese
Syllabaries.**

The sounds of the language were analysed into forty-seven syllables, and these syllables were symbolised by curtailed forms of the Chinese characters whose pronunciation corresponded most closely with the sounds. These syllabaries are called the Kana, and there are two forms of it: the Kata Kana and the Hiragana (*k* becomes *g* in composition). In the first, there is only one very abbreviated symbol for each syllable and it is therefore easy to acquire. In the second, which is most commonly used, there are many widely differing forms of each, any one of which may be used at the writer's own will, and as their whole number exceeds three hundred, the task of mastering them is far from simple. All writing and printing are either in Chinese characters alone or in a mixture of them with the two Kana. The Kana are used for grammatical inflexions, and the Hiragana form is also printed alongside the characters in both popular books and newspaper paragraphs to elucidate their meaning to readers whose knowledge of them is not extensive. The least number of characters with which an efficient scholar must be thoroughly familiar is, according to Professor Chamberlain, 4,000, all of them in all their various forms, with all their equally varied readings and meanings, being accurately committed to memory. We doubt if any European scholar, except the very greatest among them, such as Professor Chamberlain himself, Satow and Aston, has ever succeeded in acquiring a complete mastery of this number, the ability to recognise them at once in all their many forms, or to write them from memory in logical sequence, but a knowledge of from one to two thousand is necessary to enable a student to read either books or newspapers in which the most difficult characters are liberally interpreted by Kana

interpolations or to write a very simple letter on non-technical subjects, and the difficulty of learning to read or write Japanese may be estimated from the fact that at least six or seven years are exclusively devoted in schools to the teaching of reading and writing to the Japanese themselves.

No question is more frequently put to the writer than "Is Japanese a difficult language to learn?" Sometimes

**Difficulties
of Learning
Japanese.**

the question is varied by an assertion, "Japanese is rather easy." Its pronunciation is easy, the chief difficulty being in words in which *r* or *h* precedes *i*, and in distinguishing

final *e* from final *i*, and enough of the vocabulary can be acquired and the use of it sufficiently learned without any great labour to intensify the pleasure of travellers and to facilitate the convenience of business men. As to obtaining the knowledge which is expected of a competent interpreter or scholar, our readers will perhaps be able to form an idea of its difficulty from the description we have given. We shall help them, however, by quoting Professor Chamberlain, one of the three greatest European authorities—

"Almost all books are written in a mixture of Chinese characters and *Kana* of one kind or another, the Chinese characters being employed for the chief ideas, for nouns and the stems of verbs, while the *Kana* serves to transcribe particles and terminations. Add to this, that the Chinese characters are commonly written and printed in every sort of style—from the standard or so-called 'square' to the most sketchy cursive hand—that each *Hiragana* syllabic letter has several alternative forms, that there is no method of indicating capitals or punctuation; that all the words are run together on a page without any mark to show where one leaves off and another begins, and the result is the most complicated and uncertain system of writing under which poor humanity has ever groaned. . . . The student finds himself confronted with the double task of learning two languages and the necessity of committing to memory two syllabaries, one of which has many variant forms, and at least four thousand Chinese ideographs in forms standard and cursive—ideographs too, most of which are susceptible to three or four different readings according to circumstances—add further that all these kinds of written symbols are apt to be encountered pell-mell on the same page, and the task of mastering Japanese becomes almost herculean."

To Professor Chamberlain's criticism we may add that of

以書翰致啓上候陳者東京ニ在留スル貴國
人現員其他ノ件目月々御報告ノ儀旨テ及
御依頼候處御承諾相成其后御報告有之御
手數ノ段深ク及鳴謝候然ル處月々御報知
ノ儀ハ甚タ御煩勞ニ付以來八月々御調査
ノ分六月ト十二月ト兩度ニ取廻ノ御送附
被下度依之書式十二葉相添へ此段更ニ及
御依頼候右得貴意如斯候敬具

明治十五年二月廿二日

東京府知事 松田 道之



大不列顛國代辦副領事

デヨセフ、エイチ、ロングフォード 貴下

AN OFFICIAL LETTER

one of the Jesuit missionaries in the latter half of the sixteenth century, who considered the language must have been the invention of the devil, in his desire to prevent the heathen obtaining a knowledge of the true faith. The system of writing has the redeeming feature that it is incomparably the most beautiful in all the world. A well-written document in the square character is in itself a picture which it is a joy to look on, and the use of the brush as a pen, to which all are trained from early childhood, has done much to make the Japanese the nation of artists that they are.

The history of Japanese literature may be divided into periods corresponding with those of her political history.

Beginnings of
Japanese
Literature.

Writing was only introduced from China during the fifth century of the Christian Era, more than a thousand years subsequent to the accession of the Emperor Jimmu to the throne, and where the art of writing was unknown, literature could have no existence. It was not until the capital was established permanently at Nara in the beginning of the eighth century, by which time learning had made great strides, and under the all-powerful influence of Buddhism was being earnestly developed by scholars who had studied both in Japan and China and had acquired a profound knowledge of the written language and literature of China, that Japan began to have a literature of her own. The two first histories of Japan, the *Kojiki*, or "*Record of Ancient Matters*," and the *Nihongi*, or "*Chronicles of Japan*," were both compiled during the early part of the Nara period, and during the same period the *Manyoshu*, or "*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*," an anthology of all the poetry which had come from the pens of the accomplished scholars and poets who thronged the Imperial court, and whose work still causes the Nara period to be called the Golden Age of Japanese Literature, was completed by the orders of the Emperor Shomu (724-749). The two works first mentioned are held in Japan as sacred as

the Bible is with us, containing as they do the records of the creation of the earth and of the Gods of Heaven, both combining to form the basis of the Shinto religion and the foundation of the belief, cherished by all Japanese, that Japan is the land, and its people the descendants, of the gods and that both are therefore far superior to all others on earth. The admiration and affection that are given to the *Manyoshu* are not less than the reverence rendered to the two first histories.

The second period dates from the foundation in 794 of Kioto as the capital of the Empire, and is called, from the original

The Heian
Period
of Literature.

name of Kioto (Heianjo, the "Castle of Peace"), the Heian Period. It lasted until Kiyomori made himself master of the Empire, and reduced the Imperial court to political insignificance in the last quarter of the twelfth century. During all the intervening period the court and capital were the centres of all the culture and refinement of the Empire and, while outside their limits war and disorder were constant, within them the courtiers in peace, ease and luxury, devoted themselves to art and literature and pursued the learning which had taken its first rise at Nara. Poetry was so much in vogue among them that there was a special Department of Poetry in the court, and by its members a second anthology of poems, called the *Kokinshu*, "*Ancient and Modern Poems*," was compiled by order of the Emperor Daigo (898-931), containing all the best poems composed subsequent to the compilation of the *Manyoshu*.

While the Chinese language, the study and use of which had become the highest accomplishment of an educated

Works
in Yamato
Kotoba.

gentleman, even more so than was that of Latin in our own Middle Ages, was used for the composition of serious works, of which there were a large number, especially on history and theology, there were other prose works which, like the poems, were composed in the Japanese language in its own native purity as it was spoken at the court—the Yamato

Kotoba (or language of Yamato) it is called—and which have survived to the present day, and retained their reputation as being among the foremost literary masterpieces in the whole range of Japanese literature. The two most prominent are the *Genji Monogatari*, or “*Story of Genji*,” a realistic novel, called from the name of its hero, Genji, in which court life is very vividly described, and the *Makura Zoshi*, or “*Pillow Sketches*,” which is a collection of the thoughts and descriptions of the daily incidents of life of a court lady of the period, the whole forming a miscellany of information of a very varied nature. Both were the work of women, and both in the Nara and Heian Epochs, it was by women that the greatest mark on the national literature was made to a degree which, according to Dr. Aston, “is unexampled in the literary history of any other country in the world.”

The debt of gratitude which is due to the authoresses of both the works just mentioned is, however, not very much greater than that which is also due to Ki no Tsurayuki, a noble of the court, who not only edited the *Kokinshu*, but has left two works in prose which, in their different aspects, are full of interest, the first as an essay, which forms the preface to the *Kokinshu*, on the art and range of poetry and on the characteristics of the poets whose works are contained in the anthology; and the second, the *Tosa Nikki* or *Tosa Diary*, the description of a return journey in the year 935, after four years' absence, from the province of Tosa to the capital. The journey from the harbour of Tosa, from which the author sailed, to the entrance of the Osaka River was made by sea, hugging the coast the whole way, and though it was unattended by exciting adventures it occupied thirty-eight days, the distance, as the crow flies, not being more than 200 miles. The merit of the diary lies in its humorous account, in the refined court vernacular of the time, of the ordinary incidents that befell all travellers. It is interesting as a study of life in old Japan, and both the matter and style of the work have

Tsurayuki,
Poet and Prose
Writer.

caused it to become a treasured classic which, to the present day, is considered a model for writers.

The authoress of the *Genji Monogatari* (Monogatari literally means tale or narrative, and is most commonly connected with

fiction, but it is also used as the title of his-
Murasaki no Shikibu.
tories) is known to us as Murasaki no Shikibu,
a *nom-de-guerre* but the only medium of

identifying the authoress that has survived. She was a lady of the court, a member herself and married to another member of the great Fujiwara family, who, becoming tired of court life, followed the custom of the time by retiring to the temple of Ishiyama, one of the eight beautiful scenes of Lake Biwa, to devote her declining years to religious meditation, away from all the temptations and cares of the world. Her meditation, however, turned to literary activity and, in a room which is still shown at the temple, she composed her great work, writing it with an ink slab that is still also one of the most valued of the temple relics. It is a novel, describing, with both pathos and humour, the life of its hero Genji, a son of the Emperor by a concubine, and containing many philosophic reflections on the life of the period, many eloquent descriptions of the scenes of natural beauty round Kioto, and very realistic accounts of the hero's many love affairs, all told in language that is simple and unadorned, but at the same time that of an accomplished scholar. The life of Sei Shonagon, the authoress of the *Makura Zoshi*, is almost an exact repetition of that of her contemporary Murasaki, a youth and middle age passed in the most intimate life of the court in the reign of the Emperor Ichijo (987-1012), and an old age in the retirement of a convent. Her "*Pillow Sketches*" contain humorous sketches of the court, her own reflections on what she has seen and her thoughts, learned, witty and often comical, upon the infinite variety of subjects that might be expected to come within the experience of a lady whose life in an age of easy manners was passed in a voluptuous court, in all the pleasures of which she took her full share. "What a revelation it

would be," remarks Dr. Aston, "if we had the court life of the reigns of Alfred or Canute depicted to us in a similar way."

It is more than nine hundred years since Sei Shonagon lived and wrote and yet many of her aphorisms might easily come

from the lips of a society lady of the present day in England. "A priest," she thought, "should be good-looking, for then it is easier to keep one's eyes on his face, and unless one does that it is difficult to follow the sermon." Among the things she hated were a bore who told long stories when she was busy, a child who cried, a dog that barked or a raven that croaked, when she wanted to be quiet; a carriage whose wheels creaked; a man who, when she was trying to hide him (she was unmarried), fell asleep and snored; a man, with whom she was on good terms, who praised another woman to her face; and a letter from home with no news in it, while among the things she liked were a handsome man who stopped his carriage in order to ask the way; drifting down the river in a boat; and well-blackened teeth. The following extract, which we take from Dr. Aston's exhaustive *History of Japanese Literature*, justifies its quotation in full, as it shows that the love of those aspects of nature which at the present day give their fame to so many celebrated places in Japan and make them the rendezvous at their own proper seasons of countless holiday makers, was as strong a thousand years ago as it is to-day. The extract, as a description of the seasons, has become a classic—

"In spring, I love to watch the dawn grow gradually whiter and whiter, till a faint rosy tinge crowns the mountain's crest, while slender streaks of purple cloud extend themselves above.

"In summer, I love the night, not only when the moon is shining but dark too, when the fireflies cross each other's paths in their flight, or when the rain is falling.

"In autumn, it is the beauty of the evening which moves me deeply, as I watch the crows seeking their roosting place in twos and threes and fours, while the setting sun sends forth his beams gorgeously as he draws near the mountain's rim. Still more is it delightful to see the wild geese pass, looking exceeding small in the distance. And when

the sun has quite gone down, how moving it is to hear the chirruping of insects or the sighing of the wind.

"In winter, how unspeakably beautiful is the snow! But I also love the dazzling whiteness of the hoar-frost, and the intense cold even at other times. Then it is meet quickly to fetch charcoal and kindle fires. And let not the gentle warmth of noon persuade us to allow the embers of the hearth or the brazier to become a white heap of ashes!"

From the downfall of the court as a political factor in the twelfth century until the re-establishment of peace throughout the Empire at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Iyeyasu, Japan was plunged in continuous civil war, and literature was under a dark cloud, the only rays which penetrated it being those of historical works, in which history was mingled to a large extent with fiction, so much so that it is now difficult to distinguish between histories and romances, and at the later stages of the period, dramatic works, the material for the No, the classic drama which became fashionable in the court of the Ashikaga Shoguns. Among the historical works of the period, the best known of those which have survived are the *Gempei Seisuki*, the history of the Minamoto and Taira Wars, the Japanese Wars of the Roses; the *Heike Monogatari*, a more romantic story of the same wars; the *Tai Heike*, the Record of the Great Peace, which, notwithstanding its name, is the history of Japan from the foundation of the Shogunate by Yoritomo in 1181 down to 1368, a period in which peace reigned only during the first hundred years; and the *Adzuma Kagami*, or "*Mirror of Adzuma*," Adzuma being a poetic name of the eight eastern provinces, a history of Japan from 1180 to 1266. The age was, however, not wholly destitute of other works, and though the subjection of women had now commenced among the rough warriors who were foremost in the Empire, and they no longer held the honoured and influential positions which they did in the refined and cultured court of Heianjo, women writers were not wanting. The most distinguished was a lady named Abatsu, also a member of the Fujiwara family, who has left a

Literature
in the
Middle Ages.



TEMPLE OF HACHIMAN—GOD OF WAR—AT KAMAKURA

description, modelled on the Tosa Nikki, of a journey which she made to Kamakura in the year 1277 after she had become a widow and taken Buddhist vows.

She had a literary follower of the opposite sex, the incidents of whose life were the counterpart of her own, the monk,

The Monk,
Kenko.

Kenko, who, born in a noble family and claiming a distinguished descent, passed his early years in the Imperial court and his later ones as a Buddhist monk and devotee, away from the world in a secluded retreat near Kioto. Here he wrote his *Tsurezuregusa*, "*Subjects of Solitude*," a collection of essays of a somewhat similar nature to the *Makura Zoshi*, written in the same style, equally varied in its contents, equally sparkling both with wit and with evidence of the knowledge of the world that can be acquired by an experienced courtier, and also replete with the advice that might be expected to be given by a pious and devout priest to a parishioner who came to him for counsel. "If you truly believe your salvation is assured, it is assured. If you have doubts, it is not; but if, though troubled by your doubts, you continue your prayers, you will be saved. Beware of putting off the practice of religion till your old age. The ancient tombs are mostly those of young persons." He condemns drink, both those who use it and those who persuade others to use it in unqualified terms, but—

"There are times when wine cannot be dispensed with. On a moonlight night, on a snowy morning, or when the flowers are in blossom, and with hearts free from care we are conversing with a friend, it adds to our pleasures if the wine cup is produced."

We venture to give three other quotations all of which, as well as those already given, are, with the consent courteously given by the publishers, taken from the admirable translations in Dr. Aston's scholarly work. The originals are not available to the writer in London and, even if they were, he could not hope to reflect their spirit in the manner which Dr. Aston has so successfully accomplished. They are only a very few of the many pearls of Japanese literature which he has placed

at the disposal of English readers. The first illustrates Kenko's love and powers of observation of nature; the second and third show that though a monk, professedly leading a life of ascetic self-denial, with a mind fixed on futurity, he was neither blind to the personal attractions of women nor to the pleasures of the world. The occasion of the third was a horse-race, when a crowd, lining the rails, obstructed the view of Kenko and his friends, seated in their carriage.

"It is the change in all things that touches us with sympathy. Everyone says, and not without some reason, that it is chiefly the autumn that inspires this feeling. But it appears to me that the aspects of nature in spring, more than at any other time, make our hearts swell with emotion. The songs of birds are especially suggestive at this season. With the increasing warmth the herbage of the hedge comes into bud, and as the spring grows deeper, the hazes are diffused abroad and the flowers show themselves in all their glory. Sometimes with continual storms of wind and rain they are dispersed agitatedly, and nothing but green leaves is left. All this affects our hearts with constant trepidation.

"The flowering orange tree has great fame but it is the perfume of the plum tree which makes us think longingly of the past. Then there are the gaily coloured kerri and the wisteria of obscurer hues. All these have many feelings associated with them which it is impossible to leave unmarked."

"What strikes men's eyes most of all in a woman is the beauty of her hair. Her quality and disposition may be gathered from the manner of her speech even though a screen be interposed. There are occasions too when her very posture when seated leads a man's heart astray. Then, until his hopes are realised, he bears patiently what is not to be borne, regardless even of his life. It is only love which can do this. Deep indeed are the roots of passion, and remote its sources. It is possible to put away from us all other lusts of this wicked world. But this one alone is very hard to eradicate. Old and young, wise and foolish, all alike are its slaves. Therefore it has been said that with a cord twined of a woman's hair the great elephant may be firmly bound; with a whistle carved from a woman's shoe the deer in autumn may without fail be lured."

"We all got tired and tried to push our way forward to the rails but the press was too great for us to get passage. At this juncture we observed a priest who had climbed up a tree and seated himself in a fork to see better. Being drowsy, he was continually dozing and awaking just in time to save himself falling over. Everyone shouted



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AUTUMN AT KIOTO

and jeered at him. 'What a fool,' they cried, 'this fellow is to let himself fall asleep in such a dangerous position!' Upon this a thought flashed on me and I exclaimed 'Yet here are we spending our time in sightseeing, forgetful that death may overtake us at any moment. We are bigger fools even than that priest.' The people in front of us looked round and said, 'Nothing can be more true. It is indeed utter folly. Come this way, gentlemen.' So they opened a passage and allowed us to come forward. Now this remark of mine might have occurred to anyone. I suppose it was the unexpectedness of it at this time which caused it to make an impression. Men are not sticks or stones, and a word spoken at a favourable moment sometimes finds its way to the heart."

One more anthology of poetry was compiled in the first half of the thirteenth century, the *Hiyaku Nin Isshu*—"

The *Hiyaku*
Nin *Isshu*. "Single Poems of a Hundred Men"—and it is perhaps the best known of the three which, including it, have been mentioned. Like the

others, it was the work of a noble, also a member of the Fujiwara family, and it consists of one hundred poems, each in the form known as Tanka, and each supposed to be the best specimens of all the works of the hundred composers, who include courtiers of all degrees, from the emperors and chief ministers of state downwards. The poems have been twice translated into English, first by Mr. F. V. Dickins, whose translation was published in London so long ago as 1866, when Japanese scholarship was still in its very early infancy, and second, by Mr. Clay McAuley, whose translation appeared in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Vol. XXVII, December, 1899). Similar compliments have been rendered to parts of the other anthologies, especially by Professor Chamberlain, but we call the *Hiyaku Nin Isshu* the best known of all anthologies, on account of its universal popularity among the Japanese. The poems are taught in every school and committed to memory by every pupil in earliest childhood in such a way that they are never forgotten in after life.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were periods of almost unbroken anarchy in Japan, civil war raging everywhere

and in nearly every decade, and while men were busy slaughtering and plundering each other, they had no time or thought to bestow on literature. The only sphere which appealed to them was the drama, as represented by the classic *No*, and that only to a very few. Women writers there were none. The condition of women, as told in another chapter, had wholly changed for the worse. The Imperial court, when not made the shuttlecock of rival warriors, contending for the masterdom of the Empire, sank into utter lassitude and if ever the elegant scholarship that characterised it in early days temporarily raised its head, no record of its having done so has been left. Literature was dormant throughout the whole Empire but it was not dead.

When peace was restored, on the accession of Iyeyasu to power, and the country began, for the first time for more than three centuries, to enjoy continued tranquility, **Influence of Iyeyasu on Literature.** unbroken even by local disturbances, literature began to revive once more. Iyeyasu himself was an accomplished scholar in Chinese literature. He collected books, formed large libraries and encouraged the Kan-Gakusha—Japanese scholars in Chinese literature and philosophy—to attach themselves to his household. Territorial nobles everywhere followed his example. They established schools or universities for the teaching of what was considered the highest form of learning, and the results justified their liberal patronage. There was a complete revival of learning everywhere, and books, all written in the most scholarly Chinese, on philosophy, morality, history, nature and other subjects, flowed in a constant stream from authors and publishers. Most of them are now forgotten. They do not appeal to the modern Japanese student or scholar, whose ambition is entirely directed to the acquisition of the philosophy and literature of the West, but some of them had great influence in their day and are even now not wholly neglected.

Of the territorial nobles who devoted themselves to the

encouragement of literature, the most famous was Mitsukuni, the Lord of Mito, a grandson of Iyeyasu, with even a greater fondness for learning than his grandfather and

Mitsukuni,
Lord of Mito.

with leisure to cultivate it throughout his whole life, which the latter did not enjoy till his old age and not even then uninterruptedly. Scholars, supported by him, compiled, after long research, the *Dai Nihonshi*, the history of Japan from the accession of the Emperor Jimmu to the abdication of the Emperor Go Komatsu (from 660 B.C. to 1414 A.D.), which is still the standard work on the subject. It is written in what is considered in Japan pure Chinese, which, as already stated, in Japan held the same position as Latin did in Europe in the Middle Ages. Another great work was the *Kojikiden*, finished sixty years later, an explanatory commentary in forty-four volumes on the *Kojiki* (Ancient Records). It brought attention to the religion and customs of old Japan which had been submerged for centuries in the flood of Chinese institutions and literature that had poured over the whole country. A new school of scholars arose, called, to distinguish them from the Kan-Gakusha, Wa-Gakusha (Japanese Literati), whose efforts were devoted entirely to the revival of the old national literature and religion of their own country, and its substitution in education for those which had been obtained from or founded on China. From them came, in 1827, another great historical work, the *Nihon Gwaishi* ("The External History of Japan"), which is a history of the Shogunate from its foundation by Yoritomo at the close of the twelfth century to the accession of Iyeyasu, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Both this work and its predecessor, the *Dai Nihonshi*, had great political results. It was through them that the thoughts of the leaders of men were directed to the consideration of the relative constitutional positions of the Emperor and the Shogun, and from them they learned that the latter was a usurper, whose rights were founded entirely on might. It was through these works that the seeds were

planted which years afterwards grew into the movement that culminated in the Restoration of the Emperor to his rightful position as the Chief Executive Authority of the Empire.

There was abundant literature of another sort while the Tokugawas were in power. There were, among hundreds

Dramatic
Literature and
Fiction in the
Tokugawa
Period.

whose names are only known to the esoteric student, two great dramatic writers, Chikamatsu and Idzumo, whose works are still as popular on the stage as those of Shakespeare and Goldsmith are with ourselves, and a swarm of novelists whose headquarters were at Yedo, the centre during the Tokugawa period, of all that was luxurious in the national life. Many of their works are full of humour, many of them give vivid and realistic descriptions of the life of their time, and they include both the historic and romantic novel. But all (it is difficult to recall even one single exception) are disfigured by pornography such as would have brought blushes to the cheeks of Aphra Behn. The writers are not to be too severely blamed. They reflected the spirit of the time, when virtuous women were relegated to domestic seclusion, and the dancing girl and harlot alone were the intellectual companions of men. It is from these classes, the members of which, it is to be remembered, were seldom themselves responsible for the lives they led, that heroines were taken and it was their homes that were the scenes of the most dramatic episodes. The subject of fiction and its most striking characteristics is fully dealt with in Dr. Aston's work, and we shall only mention one novel which is almost an exact counterpart of the *Pickwick Papers*, the most widely read novel in English. It is called the *Hiza Kurige*, literally the "*Knee Chestnut-Horse*," the idiomatic equivalent in Japanese of "Shank's mare," and describes the journey, with all its comic adventures, not less numerous and many even more amusing, despite their coarseness, than the most comical of those which befell Mr. Pickwick and his followers, of two good-humoured, rollicking fellows along the Tokaido, the great high-road of

Japan. It teems with indecency, a fact which has prevented the publication of any complete translation into a European language but, at the same time, it contains some striking descriptions of the national life of the period, and of all the varied elements among the people, from Daimios to footpads, from priests to prostitutes, so much so that the Japan Society of London might well be justified in following the example set them in similar instances by other learned societies, by including it in their Transactions.

At the opposite pole from this form of literature was another—the *Otogi-banashi*—so different in its tone that

The wide popularity among the same people of the
Otogi-banashi. same generation. *Otogi* has two meanings :

(1) a paid companion whose duty it is to amuse his or her employer in the hours of boredom, and (2) the friends who take part in the gathering that watch the death-chamber throughout the night after death has taken place. *Hanashi*, converted for euphony into *Banashi* when appended to another word, means simply talk, and the combination of the two words is used to signify stories told by the companion or watchers on the occasions mentioned.

The term was used to describe a series of fairy tales whose form may suggest that they were intended for children but which, all the same, are not unattractive read-

Fairy Tales. ing for adults. They are as free from all offensive elements as the current fiction was full of them, as charmingly naïve as they are humorous and graceful, and they are written in the purest and simplest language as unadulterated by imported Chinese vocables as was that of Murasaki no Shikibu herself. Many of these tales have been translated into English. The best of them, "The Tongue-Cut Sparrow," "The Accomplished and Lucky Tea-Kettle," "The Story of the Old Man who made the Withered Trees to Blossom," and "The Battle of the Ape and the Crab," are contained in Lord Redesdale's *Tales of*

Old Japan, by which they were first made known to English people, but they were subsequently issued in charming little *crêpe* volumes, illustrated with the quaintness and fidelity that are characteristic of the Japanese artists when at their best, and in this form they have had a large sale in England.

With the Restoration an entirely new school of literature arose. Japan became Occidentalised, and along with new systems of government and law, of military and naval affairs, of social life and personal liberty, a new system of literature replaced that with which Japan had been so long contented. The English language was

Modern
Literature
and English
Influence.

acquired. In early years after the Restoration, England held, in the thoughts of all Japanese, a position which was immeasurably above that of all other nations of the West, and as England was pre-eminent in the Far East in her ostensible military strength, in her commercial interests, in the ability and scholarship of her diplomatic and consular representatives, and in the number, enterprise, and wealth of her merchants, a knowledge of the English language was considered the most essential passport to the acquisition of Western civilisation and consequent success in life. The knowledge of English rapidly spread and with it a knowledge of English literature which was considered to excel, just as much as did the English commercial and political influence, that of all other countries. The works of English writers became the text-books in schools; Spencer and Mill, Tyndale and Huxley, even Bacon were studied by scholars; so also were Gibbon, Buckle, Macaulay and Carlyle. The novels of Lytton, Scott, Dickens, Victor Hugo, Dumas, to mention only a few, as well as some of the plays of Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Cæsar*, *The Merchant of Venice*; the title of the latter in Japanese was "*The Human-Flesh Trial*"), were translated, and as the absence of any copyright convention permitted the republication in Japan of all the works of English writers, whether new or old, as paper and printing

were both of far lower cost than in Europe, the shelves of bookshops were crowded with reprints in marvellously cheap forms of the very best works in English literature, which were rapidly sold. French, it will be seen, were not entirely overlooked.

In time German literature was also studied. The teachers in the Medical Faculty of the University at Tokio were all

Study of
German
Literature.

Germans and, as they knew no Japanese, their instruction had to be given in their own language. A knowledge of German became, therefore, a *sine quâ non* with medical students, and it was by members of the medical profession that the first impetus was given to the study of German literature. Now Kant and Hegel, Schiller and Goethe, are as familiar to Japanese scholars as are the greatest of their English compeers, and all, both English and German, have served as models for modern Japanese authors. Indeed, it might be said, that the continental literature of Europe presents even greater attractions to Japanese students at the present day than does that of England. The works of Tolstoi, three of which, *The Penalty of Crime*, *Sebastopol*, and *Anna Kerenina*, gained enormous popularity, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Sienkiewicz and Jokai are now as well known and as widely read as were English masterpieces a generation ago. The prompting cause may, in both cases, be similar, not the inherent surpassing merits of the works but the considerations of politics. England loomed most largely in the eyes of all Japanese in the seventies of the last century; Germany in the eighties as an aggressive and ambitious power, as the great model of national efficiency in all its details, and as Japan's teacher of military science; Russia both in the nineties and in the first years of the present century as a threatening foe.

Among the principal literary leaders during the post-Restoration period the foremost place is easily taken by Fukuzawa Yeikichi, not so much perhaps as a writer himself, though his autobiography is in its style a classic and its matter

of thrilling interest, vividly illustrating the courage, industry and perseverance with which the Japanese apply themselves

**Fukuzawa
Yekichi, Works
and Influence.**

to overcome difficulties that would be sufficient to daunt most people, but as a leader of thought, a promoter of education and an apostle of humanity in its highest form, who throughout his whole career used his great literary ability and influence in raising the standards of life and training among his countrymen, not forgetting women, and in advancing their political knowledge and their consciousness of the rights and liberties of the subject without distinction of class. His *Conditions of Western Countries*, published in the early seventies, was one of the most prominent factors in guiding Japan along the paths of Western civilisation on which she had just before entered in haste and ignorance that were equally blind. He is dead; but, apart from his purely literary work, he has left two monuments of his life behind him in the Keio Gijiku, the second of the three great universities of Japan which, in the class of students who have always thronged to it, takes in Japan a similar position to that of the University of London, though its functions are those of teaching rather than examining, and the *Jiji Shimpō*, the greatest and best of all the daily journals of Japan, as much so as the *Times* is the greatest and best in England, and both, university and journal, were founded by him.

Of the authors of this period the name is legion. Philosophy, politics and education have mainly attracted them, and the

**Recent
Literature.**

list of critical text-books connected with these subjects is a long one. History has not been neglected, and fiction, modelled on the spirit of some of the best novelists of Europe, has taken an entirely new form, and may be said to be now altogether free from the objectionable characteristics of its tone in preceding centuries. The best works of the greatest writers in Europe and America have been more or less faithfully translated and there is now no form of Western literature which is not accessible to

Japanese in their own language. The facts that in the year 1905 over 27,000 and in 1910, 41,568 volumes of original books, exclusive of reprints and translations, were published as compared with 4,745 volumes in 1877 and 18,505 volumes in 1900 ; that, within ten years, one firm of publishers alone issued 3,380 volumes, exclusive of magazines, will afford some indication both of the copiousness of the stream of literature that is constantly flowing from the Press and of the spread of reading among the mass of the people.

CHAPTER IX

POETRY AND THE DRAMA

THE first characteristic of Japanese poetry which becomes apparent to all students is its extreme brevity. Its whole range includes nothing that approaches an epic, and even narrative poems, which are **Commonest Form of Japanese Poetry.** very few in number, are as short as they are few. The form in which the great majority of poems are written, which is always meant when poetry is mentioned without any qualifying description, is known as the Tanka (short poem), and the Tanka is simply one verse of five lines, containing in all thirty-one syllables, the first and third lines each consisting of five and the others each of seven syllables. Short as it is, it is divided into two portions, the first, or "upper," comprising the first three lines, and the second, or "lower," the last two, and between the two, a slight break always occurs in the sequence, and a pause is made in reading aloud.

There are both longer and shorter poems than the Tanka. There is the Naga-uta (long poem) which is unlimited in its length, though as a matter of fact few in **Other Forms.** existence exceed a couple of score of lines, and there is the Hokku (or first lines), introduced in the sixteenth century, which consists only of the first three lines that, if extended, would be the upper portion of the Tanka. It is so terse that it not infrequently contains no verb, and amounts to what is little more than an exclamation. The construction of the Naga-uta differs only in length from that of the Tanka. It consists of an indefinite number of alternating lines of five and seven syllables, with the exception that, as in the Tanka, the final two lines must each contain seven syllables.

When we have said this we have exhausted the positive essentials of Japanese poetry. Nothing in its mechanical construction differentiates it from prose except the regular alternation of the five and seven syllable clauses or phrases. Its negative characteristics are many. "It has," Professor Chamberlain says, "neither rhyme, tone, alliteration, accent, nor quantity. Nor does its parallelism follow any regular method." Rhyme would be impossible without becoming wearisome in a language in which there are only six terminations of all syllables (five vowels and the consonant "n"). Three of the vowels may be used in colloquial either as short or long vowels, "o," "u" and "a" (the latter very rarely long), but in poetry, all are of the same length so there is no quantity. Tonic and rhetorical accents are both wanting in the language, and alliteration seems to have been a form of beauty that appealed neither to poets nor prose writers. Japanese poets suffer from another limitation. All their work is entirely national, all written exclusively in the pure language of Old Japan, without any admixture of the Chinese vocables which constitute more than half of the language in present use and have sensibly affected it ever since the sixth century. Their means of expression are, therefore, more circumscribed than if they were writing in prose, and as their subjects also exclusively appertain to Japan, they have no rich storehouse to draw upon for metaphors or subjects, such as our own poets have found in the mythology and antiquity of Greece and Rome.

On the other hand, they have peculiar rhetorical expedients of their own in what are termed "Pillow Words," "Prefaces" or "Introductions," and "Pivot Words." The first term is a literal translation of the Japanese, and the pillow words are so called because they invariably occur as the first line of a verse on which the remaining four rest, just as the head does upon a pillow. They are words which have lost all their original

Negative
Characteristics.

Rhetorical
Expedients.

meaning, and have, in process of time, become epithets that are prefixed to certain other words mainly for the sake of euphony. Sometimes a certain logical connection is found between the epithet and the sequence to which it is applied, but the general use of the pivot word is limited to that of furnishing a euphonic introduction to the remainder of the poem. It invariably consists of five syllables, and as the authorised pillow words are well established and are even collected in poetical dictionaries, the would-be poet can always have the first line of his poem ready to his hand, and has only to tack the other four lines on to it. Prefaces or introductions are amplified pillow words, and pivot words (this term was devised by Professor Chamberlain) are words that run into each other, the last syllable of the first being also the first syllable of the second. Professor Chamberlain considers that "the impression produced by these linked verses is delightful." The writer has found them more irritating than pleasing.

The subjects of Japanese poetry, circumscribed in some degree as its range is, are varied, but they may generally be

included in two classes, the beauties of nature
 Subjects of
 Poetry. in its mildest aspects and love. In nature,
 the poet sings of the snow on Mount Fuji, of

the beauties of cherry and maple trees in their own seasons, of summer nights, of waves breaking on the rocks, the bright moon in autumn, bamboo groves rustling in the wind, pine trees, autumn twilight and autumn sadness, waterfalls, the melancholy call of the deer, the song of the nightingale and the cuckoo, the chirping of the cricket and the croaking of the frog. It is often said in the present day that love in its purest sense does not exist among the Japanese, and that with them love is only another name for passion. If this is so, it was not the case in the olden days among the refined courtiers at Nara and Heianjo. The anthologies have preserved many exquisite examples of the poems of poets and poetesses of those days, all of whom were courtiers, in which both the joys and sadness of love are sung with infinite pathos and

tenderness that are entirely free from even the suggestion of its grosser elements. It is not only the love of women that is sung, but of home, of country, and of honour. Strange to say that among so warlike a people as the Japanese there are no poems relating to soldiers' prowess or glory. The explanation probably is that the singers, passing all their lives in the secure peace of the pleasure-loving court, could know nothing of the incidents, whether sufferings or glories, of the wars that were raging far away from them. And yet, Tsurayuki, the editor of the *Kokinshu*, says in his famous preface, "It is by poetry that the hearts of fierce warriors are soothed."

While everything else in Japan, except the land itself, has changed, the art of poetry still continues to be regulated by the same principles and rules as it was in the days of Nara and Heian. It is still, as it was then, a necessary accomplishment of an educated gentleman to be able to compose a verse appropriate in its sentiments to the passing occasion. The late Emperor beguiled his scanty leisure, just as did his ancestors eleven hundred years ago, by committing his thoughts to verse, and the results which have seen the light of publicity are not unworthy of comparison with the best efforts of his ancestors, with whom poetry, though an amusement, was also a time-and-thought engrossing occupation.

An effort has been made in the present generation to revolutionise the national poetry, as everything else has been revolutionised, and poems have been composed modelled on those of Europe, both in their length and in their division into verses of an equal number of lines and expressed in the ordinary vernacular of the day, with its great admixture of harsh Chinese vocables, instead of in the pure harmonious language of old. The composers, professors in the Tokio University, full of bias for all the literature and science of the West, brought out a volume, principally consisting of translations of some of the

Survival
of the
Art of Poetry.

New School
of Poetry.

best-known English lyrics, but with a few original poems, the latter, perhaps to intensify the thoroughness of the departure from time-honoured precedent, including a war song, and they have since had many imitators in the magazines. But the Imperial court is faithful to the old traditions. It still maintains the Bureau of Poetry. Teachers of the art are honoured employees in it, and the Emperor, Empress, Princes and courtiers all vie in the elegance of their compositions. The nation has adhered to the fashion preserved by the court, and the miniature poems, that have been cherished through countless generations, are still the delight of all the intellect and culture of Japan.

We have not mentioned the names of individual poets because there are none whose works elevate them to pinnacles of fame or merit that are far above their fellows. Japan has never had a Tennyson, a Byron, not even a Campbell or a Longfellow, much less a Shakespeare, a Milton or a Dante. A vast number of names survive, but their owners all stood on the same level platform, and the work of each that has remained is little, though the aggregate of all is large. Not one has left enough to fill a complete volume of his own. The best-known names are those of Hito Maro and Akahito who lived in the eighth century, but of whose lives almost nothing is known further than that they were both courtiers and poets; Tsurayuki, poet, editor, critic and essayist, mentioned in the previous chapter; and Basho, the first, greatest and most prolific of the Hokku composers, who lived in the sixteenth century.

Space will not permit us to quote a specimen of the Nagauta. The best is perhaps the story of the fisher boy, Urashima, who, in the year 479, was carried away to Horai
Specimens. San, the Land of Eternal Life beneath the sea, where he married the daughter of the Sea God. With her he passed, as he thought, three happy years, but when he returned to his home to visit his parents, he found

that they were gone and all was changed. His absence had lasted nearly 350 years. Of the Tanka we give a few specimens—

Kokoro ni mo
Arade ukiyo ni
Nagareba
Koishikaru beki
Yowa no tsuki kana.

"If, without wishing it, I continue long in this world of care, the midnight moon must ever be fondly remembered. Alas!"

There is at first sight not much to strike the sympathy of the mind in this verse, but the case is different when its circumstances are known. It was written by the Emperor Sanjo (1012-1017), the sixty-seventh of the Imperial line, on the eve of his enforced abdication by the masterful Fujiwara. The moon was shining brightly as he sat alone at midnight, thinking of his sad future, and the beauty of the night was such that it reminded him of his lost happiness and deserved, therefore, to be fondly recalled so long as he remained in life.

Hito wa iza
Kokoro mo shirazu
Furusato wa
Hana zo mukashi no
Ka ni nioikeru.

"The human heart is unfathomable but the old-time perfume of the flowers in my native village never changes."

This poem is by Tsurayuki. On returning to his native village, he was not recognised by his friends of old, but the flowers he found unchanged as was his own love for his home.

Haru no yo no
Yume bakari naru
Tamakura ni
Kainaku tatan
Na koso oshikere.

"Sad it would be if, though without reproach, my name were stained because I used this arm-pillow through a spring night that is short as a dream."

This poem is by the Lady Suwo, one of the ladies-in-waiting at the court of the Emperor Go Reizei (1047-1069), and its

story is a pretty one. Wearied, while on duty at night in the palace, she audibly sighed for a pillow, whereupon a court gallant offered his arm for her to rest her head upon. She declined the courtesy in this impromptu verse.

Morotomo ni
Aware to omoe
Yamazakura
Hana yori hoka ni
Shiru hito mo nashi.

"Mountain cherry, let us think of pity together, for except the flowers, friends I have none."

Written by the priest Gyosen (died 1135) while in a lonely hermitage on the mountains of Yoshino, which to this day are deservedly famous for the beauty of their groves of cherry trees.

Arazaran
Kono yo no hoko no
Omoide ni
Ima hito tabi no
Au koto mo gana.

"Soon shall I be no more. O that we could meet once more so that I could think fondly of thee when I am beyond this world."

Written by Izumi Shikibu, a lady of the court in the tenth century, one of the many authoresses of the period who has left the story of her own life in prose.

Wasuraruru
Mi woba omowazu
Chikaiteashi
Hito no inochi no
Oshiku no aru kana.

"Though forgotten, I think not of myself but am sad (with anxiety) for the life of him that is forsworn."

The cry of a deserted but forgiving mistress.

Chihayaburu
Kami yo mo kikazu
Tatsuta Gawa
Kara-kurenai ni
Mizu kukuru to wa.

"I have not heard that, e'en in the age of the Mighty Gods the rivers were draped in vivid (literally Chinese) red as is that of Tatsuta."

The first line of this verse, translated "mighty," is a *makura-kotoba* (pillow word), the literal meaning of which is "smasher of a thousand rocks." The river Tatsuta, whose beauty is celebrated in this verse, flows near Nara and is celebrated for the autumnal beauties of the maple trees that line its banks, whose falling leaves tinge the whole surface of the river with red.

Hana no iro wa
 Utsuri ni keru na
 Itazura ni
 Waga mi yo ni furu
 Nagame seshi ma ni.

"The colour of the flowers has passed away, while I, in my journey through life have been vainly gazing."

This was written by a poetess of the sixth century, who laments the loss of opportunities of her life, now faded as the flowers. It contains a considerable play upon words. *Nagame* means "gazing" but it also is a pivot word, composed of two words, *Naga-ame*, "long rain." *Furu* here means to "pass" or "journey," but it also means to "rain," and both words suggest the idea of the fading of life as flowers fade in long-continued rainfall.

All these specimens are from the *Hiyaku nin Isshu*, the anthology which, as told in the last chapter, contains only the very best poem of each author. Translation lamentably fails to do justice to the sentiment of the originals, the happiness with which it is expressed or, it is needless to say, to the melody of the rhythm. Dr. Aston justly compared the "perfection of these little poems to the exquisite workmanship of the tiny ivory carvings known as *Netsuke*."

We have left space for only one specimen of the *Hokku*, which we quote from Professor Chamberlain's *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese*.

Asagao ni
 Tsurube torarete
 Morai-mizu.

This is in itself a complete poem. Literally translated, it runs, "By the morning glory (*convolvulus*) the well bucket has been taken—receive water." Not much poetry in this, perhaps even less sense, the reader will say, but it conveys much to the Japanese mind.

"The poetess having gone to the well one morning to draw water, found that the tendrils of a *convolvulus* had twined themselves round the rope. She could not bring herself to disturb the dainty blossoms, so, leaving her own well to the *convolvulus*, she went and begged water from a neighbour."

"A pretty little vignette surely," Professor Chamberlain adds to this explanation, "and expressed in five words."

The theatre in Japan is a building, oblong in shape, of modest architectural pretensions, usually constructed of plain unvarnished wood, in this aspect not differing much from the generality of buildings. Its only adornments are its ponderous roof and the glaring wooden posters displayed outside illustrating the scenes that are being acted within. Inside, the floor (or pit—*hiradoma*) is divided into square spaces, each capable of seating comfortably four persons on the matted floor. On the two sides are two-storied galleries, partitioned into boxes (*sajiki*), which are the best and most expensive seats, and over the entrance, on a level with the second tier of boxes, is a single gallery (*shiki-fune*), which is the cheapest portion of the house. The stage (*butai*), which directly faces the entrance, is, when the play is not in progress, hidden by a drop curtain (*maku*), and over that what is called the *ten-maku* (heaven-curtain) is permanently suspended, as a valance, from the ceiling. Both curtains are usually presented by patrons, and are decorated with complimentary ideographs with the name of the giver appended to them. Sometimes the gift is anonymous, and then instead of a name only the word *shinjo* (gift) is to be seen.

Entry to the stage is obtained not only from the wings, but by a long gangway, the Hana Michi or Flower Way, so called because its original intention was to enable

The Stage. persons who desired to give presents (hana, literally flowers) to the actors to gain easy access to the stage. It runs through the entire length of the pit, and has the advantage of enabling long processions, which are a necessary feature of dramas of the feudal period, to be seen by all the audience to the best advantage. It has the further advantage of enabling two scenes to be acted simultaneously. On the stage, one party may be seen engaged in whatever is the subject of the play, while another of friends or foes slowly approaches them along the gangway. The most curious feature of the stage is a large revolving platform (mawari-butai) in its centre. This enables a new scene to be set up on the rear of the platform while the previous one is in progress, on the front, facing the audience, and therefore obviates all necessity of "waits" between the acts.

As the Mawari-butai is the most curious feature of the stage, so is the Kurombo the most curious in the theatrical personnel.

Kurombo is the common vernacular term for

The Kurombo. negro, but it was applied to negroes from their resemblance in colour to persons who appear on the stage, draped, heads, faces and bodies, in the most sombre black. They are supposed to be invisible; their functions are to carry lighted candles fixed in sockets at the ends of long rods which they hold directly in front of the faces of the leading actors so that nothing may be lost to the audience of the play of their features. When one of the characters dies on the stage, commits suicide or is killed, it may be after a fiercely contested fight—whatever the cause of the death, it is represented in the most vividly realistic fashion, not a detail being omitted that could dim the illusion—the corpse is not permitted to lie on the stage till the curtain falls. The Kurombo appears, holds a black curtain between the supposed corpse and the audience, and the actor

shuffles off as best he can. All this is supposed to be invisible to the audience. Both the scenery and the dresses of the actors are of a high degree of artistic excellence. The scenery faithfully portrays what it is intended to represent, and the dresses, on which expense is not spared, are in all their details historically accurate.

Theatre-going is a long process. Formerly plays lasted an entire day, from early morning till night-fall. The busier

**Theatre
Hours.**

life of the present day has necessitated some curtailment in this respect, but even now performances last from six to eight hours, the audiences enjoying, in their duration, the pleasures both of the theatre and of a picnic. Every theatre is surrounded with restaurants, in which two businesses are combined, those of selling the tickets for the theatre and of providing refreshments for their purchasers. A modern innovation is that of opening the theatre late in the afternoon and continuing the performance till midnight.

Actors were formerly, and in most theatres still are, entirely of the male sex, females having been forbidden to appear on the stage in the early days of the Tokugawas.

Actors.

Their parts are taken by men, trained from boyhood to play them, so successfully that neither in voice, gesture, gait nor features is their real sex ever for a moment betrayed. Saving exceptions to be mentioned hereafter, actors, though among them were representatives of such families as that of Danjuro, which had an unbroken descent from the middle of the seventeenth century, were regarded as outcasts and theatres as places at which gentlemen should not be seen, fit only for the lower classes. No Samurai ever entered them and they were left entirely to the patronage of the lower ranks of the city tradesmen, artisans and peasants. All this has changed in the present generation. Within a few years after the Restoration, members of the upper classes of society, in the general spirit of reform of all old customs and restrictions by which they were then

universally actuated, began to visit the theatre and to find they were not contaminated in doing so, and they were further encouraged when the late President Grant, who visited Japan in 1879, attended by invitation a state performance in one of the leading theatres of Tokio. In 1886 a society was formed for the reform and elevation of the Japanese stage. Its members included representatives of the highest official and social classes, but its leading spirit was, it is curious to tell, a professor of the University who was, at the same time, the leading advocate of the enfranchisement and higher education of women, so that he was simultaneously the champion of the mothers and wives of Japan and of men who were social outcasts. As regards the actors, the movement was so successful that in the following year the Emperor and Empress witnessed a performance, not, it is true, in a public theatre, but given on a specially erected stage in the garden of one of the leading statesmen (Count Inouye), at which all the aristocracy of Tokio, both Japanese and foreign, were present.

From that time the old stigma that rested on the profession of the stage was at an end. Actors have not become darlings of society, but enjoy the respect that is due to their genius and characters. Their ranks, reserved formerly only for those who were born into the profession and rigidly closed against outsiders, have been recruited by Samurai and the formal prohibition against female actors has been taken away. A new race of actors also arose who are known as the Soshi School. Soshi means a strong man, and it was a term adopted by a class of physical-force politicians that appeared in the eighties of last century, wild young men of ill-balanced minds, eager for reform, eager for the recovery of the national rights which prevented Japan taking her stand on equal terms with European nations, whose arguments were the cudgel and the sword-stick, who for several years were a pest in Tokio. The new school of actors adopted their title but described themselves as students, and their main object

Improved
Status of
Actors.

was to use the stage as a vehicle for the promulgation of political ideas which the Press Law and the Law of Public Meetings prevented them from advocating through the ordinary channels. They met with some success, introducing an altogether new element both in the personnel and subject matter of the stage. Their plays were entirely founded on current matters, and as they gained in experience and gradually developed considerable talent, they have now become an established institution. They still adhere to their original field of producing plays that deal with modern subjects, but they vary their répertoire with translations of the plays of European dramatists, even of Shakespeare. Of the old school of actors, the three most famous, Danjuro, who was called the Irving of Japan, Kikugoro and Sadanji, all died within a few years of each other, and as no histrionic geniuses such as they were, have arisen to take their places, the road of the Soshi to success has been made easier than it would otherwise have been.

The Japanese drama, like the people, had its origin in heaven. The Sun Goddess had a brother, Susa-no-o, but his

**Origin of
the Drama.**

rudeness to his sister necessitated his expulsion from heaven. While he was still there, before his continued misconduct had reached its climax, the Sun Goddess, indignant at a more than usually offensive act on his part, withdrew from the general society of the gods into the rock-cave of heaven, where she secluded herself so that "Eternal night prevailed both in heaven and on earth." Nothing would induce her to come forth until Ama no Uzume, the Terrible Goddess of Heaven, danced and sang in front of the closed cave, while Ama no Koyane, the God of the Small Roof of Heaven, recited a laudatory liturgy. The sound of the dance and of the music and the beautiful language of the liturgy at last tempted the Sun Goddess to the door of her cave, and then she was induced to come out by further expedients and her radiance once more filled the universe.

In memory of this incident a solemn dance, called the Kagura, has ever since been performed to the accompaniment of equally solemn music by masked dancers, gorgeously arrayed in picturesque old-fashioned robes, at all festivals, on roofed platforms erected in the courtyards of the Shinto temples, the temples in which the services are held of the indigenous church of Japan. At first the dances were purely pantomimic but afterwards a chant was added to them, and from the result the No finally evolved. The No is a species of lyric drama, resembling in its main features the ancient Greek drama, and perhaps, in a smaller degree, in its spirit, the morality plays of the present day. The plays, as became their remote origin, were at first performed only in Shinto temples, but in the fourteenth century they passed into the hands of the Buddhist priests, the only representatives of literature in that period of anarchy, and by them, under the patronage of the Ashikaga Shoguns, they were brought to the high degree of perfection which the Japanese claim for them. From that time they have been the drama of the court, the aristocracy and the scholars. They are written partly in prose and partly in verse in the old classic language, words of Chinese origin not however being so rigidly excluded as in poetry, which is utterly unintelligible, not to say to the uneducated, but to those who are not worthy of the title of classical scholars. In recent days occasional performances have been given in public, but the old custom was that they should be performed only on private stages in the Imperial or Shogun's palaces or in the mansions in Yedo of the great nobility. Actors were, we have said, social outcasts in pre-Restoration days. This applies only to the ordinary drama. The case was and is very much the reverse with the performers of the No. They were originally of the Samurai class; the present performers, who constitute a class by themselves, jealously preserving their monopoly, are the direct descendants of the actors who performed before the Ashikaga Shoguns five hundred years

ago, and both they and their forerunners have ever since conserved the social esteem due no less to their rank than to their scholarship and talents.

The stage on which the No are performed is of a very limited size, perhaps, though the estimate is only a guess from memory, not more than twenty feet square. The entrance is by a long gallery, covered, like the stage, with a roof of similar design to those used in Buddhist temples. The chorus sits on the ground outside the stage and the orchestra is in a small gallery at its back. There is no scenery further than a background with a large painting of a pine tree and there are no stage appliances, their place being supplied by a recitative description sung by the chorus to the accompaniment of weird music. On the other hand, the dresses are, it is no exaggeration to say, magnificent, the finest workmanship that can come from the looms of Kioto, and the actors all wear wigs and masks. Some of the latter are also triumphs of artistic skill, as old as the descent of the wearers, having been carefully preserved and transmitted from generation to generation. As in the ordinary theatre, female parts are played exclusively by men, and the whole performance, even its comic interludes, is characterised by the dignity that is worthy not only of the classic plays and the exclusive actors, but of the audience, which is entirely composed of the members of the upper circles of society. The actors in each piece vary in number from two to five.

There are some hundreds of No dramas in existence, mostly founded on religious or historic subjects, all written, the majority by priestly authors, prior to the sixteenth century. Some have been translated into English. The first time they were ever seen by Europeans was on the occasion of the visit of the late Duke of Edinburgh to Japan, in 1869, the first visit of a European of Royal birth ever made to its shores, when a performance was given in his honour in the palace at Tokio.

**Stage and
Properties.**

**The No
Dramas.**

Four No and two comic interludes were then presented, the whole occupying some six hours, and an accurate summary of each is given by Lord Redesdale in the *Tales of Old Japan*. The same number, translated more or less fully in verse, not merely summarized, are contained in Professor Chamberlain's *Classical Poetry of the Japanese*, but the most representative translation we have seen is that of two plays by Mr. Sansom, of H.M. Consular Service in Japan, published in Vol. XXXVIII of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. It will always be impossible to convey in a translation, no matter how accomplished the scholar, a perfect reproduction of the originals. The text is in all full of classical allusions and quotations of poetry, of texts from Buddhist Scriptures, of pivot words and *jeux-de-mots* of all kinds, and the translator's difficulty is not lessened by the archaic language in which the whole text is written.

One of the best known is the *Robe of Feathers*, which is included in both Lord Redesdale's and Professor Chamberlain's works. The characters in it are two: a

**The Robe of
Feathers.**

fisherman and a fairy. The fisherman appears on the shore of Miwo in the province of Suruga, and indulges in a long recitative with interpolations by the chorus, descriptive of the wondrous beauties of the scene at dawn in spring. He sees a robe of feathers hanging on one of the many old pine trees that fringe the shore to which his attention is drawn by flowers that fall from heaven, and he takes it to carry home and treasure as an heirloom. The fairy appears and claims the robe as hers. Without it, she is like a bird bereft of its wings, and can never return to heaven. At first the fisherman is obdurate but at length, moved to pity by the fairy's sadness, he consents to return it on condition that she dances and plays heavenly music for him. The fisherman is entranced by the beauties of her song and dance, and wishes to retain the fairy for ever, but she, now clad in the robe, is borne upwards by its magic wings until at last she vanishes from his sight in the clouds that hang

over Mount Fuji. The climax is described by the chorus. The fairy makes her exit from the stage in the most prosaic manner. As a drama the whole is thin in the extreme ; as a poetical recitation, it is exquisitely beautiful.

The solemnity and seriousness of the No are relieved by the Kyogen (mad words), farces written in the prose that was

**Kyogen-
Farces.** spoken in the Middle Ages. The *Ink Smearing* is a good specimen. A rich lover is about to part from his mistress. Her distress is such

that the lover's heart is touched, but his servant sees that the tears, which the lady is shedding copiously, are furnished from a cup of water hidden at her side beneath her robes. Secretly he replaces the cup of water by one of ink. Soon her face is all smeared with its stains and the lover, undeceived, roars with laughter. The lady, discovering the trick which has been played upon her, in turn smears the faces of both master and man, and the general romp ensues which is the closing feature of all Kyogen.

The No and Kyogen are, as we have said, exclusively the drama of the aristocracy. That of the people was of slower growth. It had its origin in public recitations

**Origin of the
Popular
Drama.** from the Tai-hei-ki, the history of the Great Peace mentioned in the previous chapter.

Recitations were afterwards replaced by duologues, music was added and the next step was a marionette theatre in which the action was performed by puppets, while explanatory readings were given by a chorus. Some of the best work of Japan's greatest dramatist, Chikamatsu (born in 1653), was written for the marionette theatre which attained and still retains great popularity, the marionettes being both constructed and manipulated with marvellous skill. It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that the Kabuki or Shibai arose, and the popular drama began to be performed by living actors.

Kabuki signifies, according to a Japanese authority, "buffoonery," and Shiba-i, "turf place," but the first is the

ordinary vernacular term for a dramatic performance and the second for a theatre. The pioneer of the new perform-

**The Kabuki
and Shibai.**

ances was a woman, a runaway priestess, and the first companies were of girls, but the profession was soon restricted by the law to males. In 1660 the first Danjuro was born, and his appearance on the stage ensured the permanent success of the new movement. The works that had won success in the marionette theatre (ayatsuri-shibai) won equal, and as the art of stage management progressed, greater success in the Kabuki shibai, and both forms have for 250 years been the joy of all the lower classes of the people.

Like the No, the drama of the popular theatre is of two kinds, historical tragedies (jidai) and comedies (sewa mono),

**Tragedies
and Comedies.**

the former founded on noted incidents and characters in national or provincial history, the latter taking their themes principally from contemporary bourgeois life, the mainspring of the plot being usually akin to that which is prominent in the most pronounced French comedies. The most famous of the former class is perhaps the *Chushin-gura*—the Loyal League—the story of the Forty-seven Ronins, first told in English by Lord Redesdale, afterwards translated in full by Mr. F. V. Dickin, and now as familiar to English interested in Japan as the story of King Alfred. The comparison is not an apt one, but it serves the purpose. Other well-known pieces, full of incident and realistic scenes, that are always most faithfully placed on the stage, of the life of Japan of the Middle Ages, a life that in its romantic picturesqueness yields nothing to that of England in the most brilliant periods of the Plantagenets or Tudors, are the *Sogo Kiyodai*, the *Sendai Hagi*, the *Kaga Sodo*, *Kokusenya* and *Bancho Sarayashiki*. The first is, like the *Chushin-gura*, the tale of the revenge of two brothers for the murder of their father, and the scene takes place largely in the hunting camp of Yoritomo on the slopes of Mount Fuji, at the close of the twelfth century. The

Sendai Hagi is a vivid story of the feudal life of the seventeenth century, an attempt to poison the child of the Lord of Sendai, thwarted by the fidelity of its nurse who sacrificed her own son, so that the poison intended for the heir was given to him instead. The *Kaga Sodo* is founded on a disturbance in the province of Kaga that was caused by the misgovernment of the feudal lord in the same century. The *Kokusenya*, considered Chikamatsu's masterpiece, relates the life of Koxinga, the Chinese adventurer who drove the Dutch out of Formosa, and the scene is laid not, like the others now mentioned, in Japan, but at the Court of China. The leading incident in the *Bancho Sarayashiki* is the suicide of a maidservant on account of the cruelty of her master and the subsequent haunting of the latter by her spirit. All of these amply satisfy the deepest thirst for sensationalism and bloodshed and all are interesting representations of the periods in which their scenes take place.

CHAPTER X

THE PRESS

JAPAN is not less well supplied with newspapers and magazines than England. In the capital more than fifty daily papers are published ; and there is scarcely a town

**Numbers and
Classes of
Journals.**

in the whole Empire, with a population exceeding ten thousand people, that has not its own daily local journal, while in the larger provincial towns their number is in ratio with the population and commercial interests of the towns. There are daily or weekly technical journals dealing with finance, military and naval matters, science, literature or religion, and there are also a great number of monthly magazines, political, literary or scientific, as the case may be, which cover as wide a range in their objects and contents as do the magazines of England or the United States. There are illustrated and comic journals, journals specially edited for women and for children ; there are some which maintain the high standards of the best papers of Great Britain ; there are others which rival the worst pornographic productions of Paris, and fill their columns with the scandals of private life without either punishment by the law or condemnation from public opinion.

In politics, the Press exercises a strong influence, though as yet not one which entitles it to the denomination of the fourth

**Status of
Journalists.**

estate of the realm. As in Great Britain and France, the profession of journalism is not infrequently the preliminary to a political career. It attracts many of the best intellects and most distinguished university graduates, although the remuneration which it provides for its followers is not high, even according to the Japanese standard, nor is the social position which it gives as yet on a par with that held by leading European journalists.

It has even enlisted women in its ranks, and the shy, gentle, modest lady of Japan is now not infrequently making her appearance as a critic or as an interviewer in the columns of the Press, not only in the journals whose functions are mainly social, but even in those devoted to politics and technical subjects.

Prior to the restoration of the present Emperor to the throne, when the Tokugawa Shoguns still guided the destinies of the Empire, newspapers, according to the modern acceptance of the term, were unknown, but newsletters were tolerated and occasionally published when extraordinary circumstances occurred. One was issued describing the advent of Commodore Perry's squadron in 1853; another describing the great earthquake of the next year; and, to go back to a far earlier date, when the tragedy of the Forty-seven Ronins, whose story is referred to in the preceding chapter, occurred in 1703, a full description of it was issued and sold in the streets of the Shogun's capital almost immediately after its occurrence. In these cases, the sheets were printed from blocks, but, except on such very special occasions, either the printing or the publishing of the newsletters was forbidden, and it was only manuscript copies that were permitted to be circulated and that only privately. When printed and sold, they were known as Yomiuri, which means literally "read and sell," and they were hawked in the streets much as were ballads in England in mid-Victorian days, the seller reading portions aloud in the streets and then disposing of as many copies as he could to the members of the crowd that gathered to hear him. Their contents were limited to the most terse and bald descriptions of the events to which they alluded. There was no criticism, no attempt at ornate language, hardly any preface to explain the circumstances which may have led up to the event nor forecasts of the results which were to follow it, and the sheets were as unlike the *Spectator* or the *Tatler* -- feudal Japan was unlike constitutional England.

Printed Japanese newspapers date from the revolution of 1868. The new Government, anxious to justify itself in the eyes of the Samurai, the only section of the people which counted as a political factor in those days, immediately after its formation, began the regular publication of the *Daijokwan Nishi*, the "*Daily Record of the Council of State*," in which the public notifications of the changes of administration and law, of official appointments, of the military and naval operations during the last struggles of the partisans of the old Government who had not surrendered to the new, were issued in language that rendered them unintelligible to the mass of the people. This publication survives to the present day as the *Kwampo*, or "*Official Gazette*," which contains not only similar items to those in the *Official Gazette* of Great Britain, but verbatim reports of parliamentary proceedings and full details of all Government measures and actions.

The first publication that really merited the name of a newspaper was the *Shimbun Zasshi*, the "*News Journal*,"

The First Newspaper.

which was started in the summer of 1871 by Kido, the great statesman of the Restoration. It consisted of a small octavo sheet of about eight pages, printed from wooden blocks and issued six times each month. The present writer can remember the first copy and some of its contents. They included a description of a progress made by the Emperor through the streets of the capital a few days previously, comparing the simplicity of his *entourage* with what had always been considered essential whenever the Shogun Usurper had gone outside the walls of his castle. The Emperor was accompanied by a few officials and guarded by a small military escort, while the Shogun was always attended by a train of ministers, officials and armed retainers, so long as to fill a whole street. The Emperor's progress made no disturbance in the ordinary traffic nor in the daily lives of the people. When the Shogun went forth the people were compelled to close all the upper floors of their

houses, lest anyone should look down on the procession as it passed. They had to remove from the streets everything that could cause offence to the eye and were prohibited to light fires for three days in advance lest the blue of the sky should be obscured by smoke. Another article described the pleasure which the Empress took in the rearing of silk-worms ; and a third endeavoured to find an explanation of the custom, which was then universal, of women blackening their teeth. This was the only portion of the paper that verged on criticism, the article condemning the custom and urging its abolition. The two first articles that have just been quoted might in themselves have been said to herald the dawn of a new era. Never before had any details as to the life or doings of the Emperor or Empress been submitted to the public knowledge of the common people.

The *Shimbun Zasshi* had a very brief existence, but its first appearance was followed not long after by that of two daily newspapers, one, the *Mainichi Shimbun*, issued in Yokohama, and the other, the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, issued in Tokio, the titles, though different in Japanese, having the same meaning in English, the "*Daily News*." Both were issued with the encouragement of the Government, and they were followed by others in Tokio which were not only encouraged but established by the advice and with the assistance of capital that was provided by prominent members of the Government. None of them at first entered on political discussion or had any influence or political importance. They were mere disseminators of news, not always of a very refined type, and the only venture that they ever made into the field of politics was when they published memorials that were addressed by men in the country, prominent by rank, wealth, or intellect, to the Government, urging measures or reforms that had occurred to them as likely to be beneficial to the Empire. These memorials were published without editorial comments of any kind.

It was not long, however, before the Press took a new departure. A British subject of Scotch birth, named Black, had for many years conducted an English newspaper in Yokohama. He foresaw the growing possibilities of the vernacular press, and started a vernacular newspaper in Tokio under the title of the *Nishin Shinjishi*, the "*Reliable Daily News*," with the assistance of competent native scholars and writers. Being himself an experienced journalist with a good knowledge of Japan, though, like most other European residents, ignorant of the language, and, being untrammelled, thanks to the protection afforded to him as a British subject by extraterritoriality, by any fear of the Government, he was able to bring out a paper much superior in all its features to any of the ill-edited sheets that had been previously issued by Japanese and to introduce into it, for the first time, critical leading articles which gradually became of a very outspoken character. In his office, several Japanese received their first journalistic training and, as was natural, when they felt they had sufficiently advanced in their profession, they transferred their services to the Japanese journals which were already in existence or were started soon after the *Nishin Shinjishi*. Among the latter were three papers which afterwards acquired considerable prominence, the *Yubin Hochi*, "*Postal Information*"; the *Choya*, "*Town and Country*"; and the *Akebono*, "*The Dawn*"; and these papers soon began to follow the example of the *Nishin Shinjishi*, and to print leading articles and contributions in which the Government and its measures were criticised in very unsparing terms, while the editors and the staffs having both competent journalistic skill and a much more intimate knowledge of the tastes and sentiments of the people than Black, were able to cater much more efficiently for the public. Black's paper declined in its circulation and influence, but it continued in its career till the year 1875.

In the interim, there had been an immense development of public spirit and of interest in political affairs. A large number of students who had been sent to the United States and to England returned saturated with crude ideas of the advantages of constitutional government, some even of republicanism, which they believed was the foundation of the advanced civilisation and national prosperity they had seen in Great Britain and the United States. Forgetting that it is necessary to learn to walk before learning to run ; not knowing that the constitutional liberties which they had seen so well employed by the people of Great Britain and the United States had only been won after long and arduous struggles, and after each people had had a long education as to their proper use ; utterly failing to recognise that their own countrymen had just emerged from a debasing serfdom engendered by centuries of oppression under the most iron system of feudalism that the world has ever seen and that they were so utterly lacking in political knowledge that they had not even in their language any words which conveyed the sense of constitutional right and freedom, these young men were ambitious to see the political liberty, enjoyed in the most enlightened nations of the world, extended, without any preliminary preparation, to their own country. They advocated their views both on platforms and in the Press and impregnated others who had not been abroad with active sympathy for them. They also loudly voiced the stain that was cast upon their country so long as the system of extritoriality continued to exist. They demanded that it should be abolished, not seeing nor caring to see the utter unfitness of their own systems of law and punishment for application to the citizens of the countries of whose glorious constitutional rights they were constantly speaking.

The Press encouraged them, both in leading articles and by printing their contributions, and both agitators and Press were rapidly becoming a public danger, which if allowed

to continue unchecked might end in making government impossible. It became necessary, therefore, to curb the growing licence of both. It was not difficult

Press Law. to deal with the agitators. A law to restrain them could be passed under the Emperor's sign-manual at any moment, but nothing could be done to the Press while the *Nishin Shinjishi*, owned and edited by a British subject who was exempt from the operation of Japanese law, continued to exist. It would be invidious to fetter the liberty of Japanese journalists while an English confrère enjoyed his to the fullest extent, and even the Government would not have been strong enough to face the odium which such a course would have entailed. Black and the *Nishin Shinjishi* had, therefore, to be got rid of, and the means that were taken to effect this end, which the Japanese Government at the time did not consider beneath its dignity to adopt, were a curious illustration of the methods to which Orientals, when uninfluenced by Western ideas of honour, are willing to descend. Black was induced to give up his paper by the offer of a well-paid and dignified Government post, which he accepted without securing his continued employment by a formal contract. The post was actually a sinecure, secretary to a parliament which was still in the far-distant limbo of futurity, and six months afterwards, when the Press Law had been passed and when, by means of a Notification, issued by the British Minister under the authority vested in him by the Queen's Orders in Council, British subjects were forbidden in future to edit or publish vernacular newspapers, Black's further services were quietly dispensed with and his occupation was gone. The new Press Law was formally promulgated in June, 1875. The whole liberty of the Press was thenceforward rigidly circumscribed, and any transgression of the provisions of the law—any incitement to the commission of crime, to revolution or to riot, any unfavourable criticism, no matter how mild its terms, of existing laws, or any attempt to justify offences contrary to criminal law—was rendered punishable

both by the imprisonment and fining of the editor and writer, and by the suspension of the paper.

Journalists at first did not believe that the Government would have the courage to enforce the new law to its full extent, but all the same it was received with an outburst of the most violent criticism, in which "the rights of the people" and "liberty of the Press," catch words that were ever on the lips and pens of the hot-headed advocates of wholesale reform, were constantly invoked. The Government soon showed that they had no intention of permitting the law to become a dead letter. The editors of the two great dailies, the *Akebono* and the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* were arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment for criticising it unfavourably. These sentences provoked still further hostile comment, and it may be said that during the next two or three years there was almost a constant procession of editors and journalists to prison. In 1876 the present writer happened to visit one of the great prisons in Tokio, and in one quarter of it there were fully one hundred and fifty journalist prisoners. They were treated in some degree as second-class misdemeanants, separated from the other prisoners, allowed the use of books and writing materials, but were dressed in prison clothes and subjected to prison discipline.

**Enforcement
of the New
Law.**

When it was found that the Government were in earnest and determined to use to the fullest extent the new weapon which they had forged, outspoken criticism was abandoned in favour of irony and allegory. Journalists suddenly took a great interest in Turkey and its Sultan, in Persia and its Shah, and long articles, sympathising with both the Sultan and Shah on account of their incompetent and dishonest ministers, and with their people for the tyrannical Government which stifled their liberties, became almost daily features. One story that went the round of all the papers may be told, as it is as short as it is simple. It requires, however, a few words of

**Journalistic
Evasions
of the Law.**

preface. The native dog of Japan is an unattractive animal, quarrelsome and cowardly, incapable of affection or training, useless as a companion, a watch dog, or a hunter. Its life is generally that of a street pariah. The breed has nearly died out and it has been replaced by dogs of foreign origin. The latter were at first called "Come-heres" by the Japanese, who thought that the call, which was most frequently on the lips of their masters, was the name of the animal—

"A dog meeting a 'come-here,' and managing to strike up an acquaintance with him, asked why it was that the 'come-here' was invariably petted, well fed and cared for, while he had to live the life of a homeless vagrant with everyone's hand against him. 'That is soon explained,' said the 'come-here,' 'I earn all I get from my master. I attend him, obey him, watch over his property, bark if I see thieves, and generally make myself useful. You do none of these things.' The dog, then for the first time seeing his own failings, begged that the 'come-here' would help him to learn how he too could become useful, and the 'come-here,' being kind-hearted and full of pity, consented to teach him. So the two went out together, the 'come-here' telling the dog to keep an eye on him and to do as he did. For a while all went well and the dog behaved so admirably that the 'come-here' was getting quite proud of his pupil, when unfortunately the two arrived at the Treasury Department and, no sooner had they done so, than the dog immediately raised a prolonged and agonised howl. The 'come-here' was utterly scandalised, but nothing he could do would stop the dog till at last he became silent through pure exhaustion. Then when the 'come-here' angrily demanded the reason of such conduct, the dog, crestfallen and bewildered, tried to justify himself. 'Why, one of the things that you most impressed on me was that I was to bark loudly when I saw thieves, and in that place I see nothing but thieves.' "

This expedient in time failed or grew dull, and then another took its place, the idea of which was, we believe, obtained from

Dummy
Editors.

France. A dummy editor and a dummy manager were engaged by each paper. Under the cover of their names the real editor could write and the real manager publish what they pleased without danger to their own personal liberty. When they transgressed the law, the dummies, who were well paid both while in and out of prison, and while out of it enjoyed lives of ease and luxury, cheerfully went to prison, and the editors continued to write.

No law could stifle the liberty of the Press, which had grown to so great an extent, and after one or two more years had passed the penal clauses were less rigorously enforced, and the Government adopted another method of dealing with their critics, that of purchasing or subsidising the most prominent papers and introducing ex-officials on their staffs. The *Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, whose editor was the first to suffer under the Press Law, was bought outright and another new paper, the *Meiji Shimbun*—“*News of Enlightened Government*”—was founded by the Government, while, as time went on, a more sober tone began to characterise editorial writings, not the result of any dread of the law but of the greater knowledge of the world which was gradually acquired both by the editors and contributors. Some men of great influence, prominent among whom was Fukuzawa, one of the greatest leaders of Japanese thought, entered into the journalistic world and gave a new éclat to it. In 1887, after the Press Law had been twelve years in existence, the Government repealed the provisions which provided fine and imprisonment on summary trial, but still retained the full power of suppressing or suspending any journal on the arbitrary decree of an executive authority without any appeal to the courts of law. In 1890 the first Parliamentary Diet met under the new Constitution. Many of its first members were or had been journalists who had suffered both fine and imprisonment, and who hated the Press Law, both on account of what they had suffered, and also because they conscientiously believed that it was an uncivilised and tyrannical instrument for the repression of the full liberty that everyone should enjoy in a Constitutional country. From the first meeting of the Diet, bills in every session passed through the House of Commons by large majorities, abolishing the limited powers which the Government had reserved, only to be rejected by the House of Lords. It was not till 1897 that the latter at last gave way, and by a bill passed through both houses in that year

**Abrogation
of Penal
Laws.**

the Executive Government was deprived of all direct power over the Press, except in cases of treason and lese-majesty.

The Press in Japan now enjoys as complete a measure of political liberty as in England, while in its news and comments on matters that are only of private concern it unfortunately enjoys and uses the worst licence of the Press of the United States.

**Liberty and
Licence.**

In the early stages, the Press took little interest in foreign affairs, domestic politics absorbing all its energies, and the eyes of the editors seldom travelled further from Japan than to Korea and China, but the occurrence of the China and Japan War in 1894, and the subsequent action of Germany, Russia and France, when they enforced the retrocession of territory on the continent that had been ceded by China as one of the conditions of peace, gave a new turn to their thoughts and from that time all the great papers have devoted a considerable portion of their space to European affairs.

**Foreign
Affairs.**

Special correspondents are maintained in the United States and Canada, as well as in the great capitals of Europe, and letters appear regularly not only from them but from private members of the Japanese communities all over the world, while Reuter's telegraphic service is also employed to a very full extent. Many new features, unknown to the early prospectors, have been introduced, while the increasing competition that has ensued from the multiplication of journals has produced not only a greater variety in their contents but a great enlargement of their space. Japanese tradesmen and manufacturers have learnt both the value of advertising, and also the fact that the most profitable advertising medium is the paper which furnishes the greatest attractions to its readers, and has therefore the largest circulation. The business side of journalism accordingly receives an amount of attention that was unknown in its early days, and every expedient is adopted that can ensure a wide and more varied

**Modern
Journalistic
Enterprise.**

clientele of subscribers. One that has been most successful, and is now almost universal, is the publication of serial stories, both original stories of Japanese life and translations of popular English romances, one of the most favourite forms of fiction being that of detective stories on the model of Sherlock Holmes. "Extras" are freely issued and there is no more common cry heard in the streets of Tokio than that of *Gogai*, "special."

Originally the only readers to whom the papers appealed were the Samurai, but this is no longer the case, and even

**Journals for
Lower Classes.**

the highest class political papers now seek the support of the middle and lower ranks, and are edited mainly with the intention of catering to their tastes. Originally they were printed entirely in the Chinese ideographs, the knowledge of which is limited except among those of advanced education. Now the ideographs are invariably accompanied with the syllabary interlineation, which renders them immediately intelligible to the less well-educated. The written language of Japan presents essential differences both in its construction and vocabulary to the spoken, but in journals the two are now reconciled as nearly as possible, while letters, contributed articles, reports of interviews and descriptions of current events are frequently given entirely in the ordinary colloquial of daily life, a very great innovation in literature, the classic written language being reserved for leading articles or for contributions on philosophic, political, or technical subjects.

The only phase of European journalism which does not find its counterpart in Japan is the sporting. The Japanese have

**Absence
of Sporting
Journals.**

taken keenly to horse-racing, though the sport is of very poor quality; they take an interest in the boat races of the students of the University in Tokio; base-ball has acquired great popularity among them, and teams of university students have crossed the Pacific to try their skill against the famous colleges of the United States, but betting may be said

to be non-existent. Gambling is under Japanese law a criminal offence, severely punished both by imprisonment and by confiscation of the stakes and the instruments that are used for it. The law would possibly be held to apply to public betting, and there are, therefore, no bookmakers, no daily lists of odds, and the sporting touts, tipsters and prophets have no existence. There is therefore no place in any Japanese journal for the columns which occupy so much in those of England: *a fortiori* there is no special sporting journal. Otherwise it would be difficult to recall any form of English journalistic enterprise which does not find its counterpart in Japan. Politics, theatres, stock exchange quotations, prize puzzles, difficult or simple, chess problems, prize essays find their places in all journals, and the columns are always open to contributors to ventilate their views on any conceivable subject. Advertising cannot yet be said to have reached the dignity of a fine art that requires a life-training for its efficient acquirement, but it is at the same time already recognised as the most paying department of the newspaper business, and in all journals the editorial may be said to be subordinate to the advertising department, so far at least as regards the allocation of space. There are newspapers which base their chief claim to popularity on their illustrations, but all dailies now illustrate their contents by woodcuts of individuals, scenes or events, and the illustrations have also been extended to the advertisements.

It was after the China and Japan War that the first great boom occurred in journalism, when the daily issues of all the most prominent journals largely increased

Circulation. within a few months, in some to tenfold what they had been before. In the earlier days there were only two papers which attained a daily circulation of ten thousand copies, the *Yomi Uri*, sold at less than a halfpenny, the most pronounced type of the yellow press, and the *Jiyu no Tomoshibi*, "*the Torch of Liberty*," the advocate of extreme radicalism, finding its subscribers among young

politicians. Of the sober journals, the *Jiji* was the most popular, and its circulation amounted to seven thousand copies. At the present day some have circulations that approach two hundred thousand copies, and many exceed one hundred thousand, while the total number of newspapers, as distinct from magazines, in all Japan closely approaches four hundred. The *Jiji*, the paper originally founded by Fukuzawa in 1882, easily and deservedly takes the lead and holds the position that the *Times* may be said to have in England, and following it are the *Hochi*, which has dropped its old prefix of "Yubin," and is now therefore simply "*The Information*"; the *Nichi Nichi*, the first serious newspaper published and still surviving, though not now at the head of all its confrères; the *Asahi*, "*Morning Sun*"; the *Kokumin*, "*The Nation*"; and the *Nippon*, "*Japan*," all published in Tokio, and all presenting similar features in their contents and policies, though, of course, more or less differing in the views which they hold on the political questions of the day. All these journals find worthy rivals in the two great papers of Osaka, the *Asahi*, "*The Morning Sun*," and the *Mainichi*, "*The Daily*," which circulate and exercise an influence on thought and politics, not only in Osaka but throughout the country, that is considered by many persons to exceed even that of the greatest dailies of the capital.

The publication of magazines has developed to an even greater degree than that of newspapers, and there is scarcely one department of modern scientific, industrial, or social life which has not now a magazine to represent it. Trade and industry, art, medicine, engineering, the army and navy, religion, education and literature all have their own monthly periodicals, and there are many which cater entirely for women. Their contents are usually of a high class, the product of the best brains in the country, and they are admirably illustrated with photo-lithographs and collotypes that are not unworthy of Japan's best art reputation. Their number is so great that

it would be impossible to mention even a tithe of them, but two may be quoted, each of which is pre-eminent in its line, the *Keizai Zasshi*, "*The Economist*," which deals, as its name implies, with finance and trade, and the *Taiyo*, "*The Sun*," a purely literary magazine. The first mentioned has, from its foundation down to the present day, been a consistent advocate of free-trade, though its views on this subject are in conflict with those held both by the leading statesmen and the majority of the people of Japan.

CHAPTER XI

CRIMINAL AND CIVIL LAW

At the Restoration, the criminal law may be said to have been unchanged for a thousand years. It was originally founded on the system of China, and was first embodied in Japan in the Taiho code, so called from the period, early in the eighth century, in which the code was compiled. During the regime of the Hojo Regents (1220-1333), a new code was put in force by which modifications were introduced into the old law, which experience had shown to be required by the social conditions peculiar to Japan, and another code appeared when the Ashikaga Shoguns were in power (1333-1573), but, though it has been usual to term the latter a code, it bore few of the characteristics of a legislative enactment, and in any case it was merely an amplification of some of the provisions of the Hojo code which preceded it. Under the Tokugawas various statutes were passed, the principal of which were the "Law of eighty-one clauses" and "The Law of one hundred and three clauses," the latter dealing with criminal offences, the former with the relations between the Shogunate, on the one side, and the Imperial court at Kioto and the feudatories throughout the country, on the other. The fundamental basis of all was, however, the original Chinese codes, and none of those enacted, at any time prior to the Restoration, made any very vital departure from their provisions.

Criminal law was not uniform throughout the Empire. Every feudatory altered its details as he pleased, to suit the conditions of his own fief or his own will, though the main principles of what we may call the Imperial codes—the term is a misnomer as none of them emanated from the Imperial court, but it conveys the desired meaning—were

**First Reforms
in Criminal
Law.**

never widely departed from. When the national government reverted to the Emperor in 1868 and the legislative and executive semi-independence of the fiefs came to an end shortly afterwards, it was evident that in order to bind the people, hitherto separated by clan antagonism, into one homogeneous whole, law must be harmonised throughout the Empire, and the common duties and common rights of all the people clearly prescribed in one uniform code, else the supreme authority of the central government would be in some degree merely a fiction. A commission was therefore appointed to investigate the subject and to draw up a code that would be applicable to the whole Empire, and the result of their labours was published, in 1871, under the title of the "Chief Points of the New Fundamental Laws." Two years later this was followed by a supplementary code entitled "The Revised Fundamental and Supplementary Laws." Both were merely selections from the old Chinese codes of the provisions that were considered suitable for the new order of affairs in Japan with large modifications of the amount and nature of the punishments prescribed in them for different offences. In publishing them to the nation a striking departure was made from time-honoured principles. Under the Tokugawas all written law was concealed from the knowledge of the people, and only those officials at the court of the Shogun who were directly concerned with its administration were acquainted with it. It was thought that people might be more readily tempted to violate the law if they knew the extreme penalty to which they would be liable if detected and that, while it was their duty to obey the law, they should be kept in ignorance of its sanctions.

The departure made by the new codes from Chinese ethics of punishment was even more striking than that of their publication. All punishments had hitherto been of the most cruel and rigorous severity, though it has to be admitted that the apparent barbarity which characterised some of them was, as a rule, more in their outward forms than in reality.

Crucifixion, a common punishment, was not the hideous, prolonged agony which its form among the Jews might lead us to expect, as the criminal was simply bound, spread-eaglewise, to a double cross and instantaneously killed with a spear thrust through the vital parts of the body. Burning at the stake, an equally common punishment, involved none of the sufferings undergone by the martyrs in England, as bags of gunpowder were, from the time at which gunpowder became known, placed among the fagots and their explosion caused instantaneous death, and, prior to the use of gunpowder, the criminal was usually strangled the moment he took his position at the stake. Slow decapitation with a bamboo saw was only theoretical, as the saw was only placed by the body after decapitation had taken place in its ordinary speedy fashion. A still more ghastly punishment was that of boiling in oil, but here the criminal was also strangled, though, in the time of Hideyoshi, the great robber Ishikawa Goyemon was slowly done to death in this way. Mercy to convicted criminals was a quality that was unknown in Chinese morality ; the Japanese so far strictly followed the Chinese precedents that death was the almost invariable penalty, even for offences of a very trivial nature, and no other method was known of punishing heinous crimes save by accompanying that death with tortures of a most painful description. It is true that the tortures were theoretical in the vast majority of cases, but their terror remained, and the condemned was always liable to them at the will either of his judges or executioner. There are many recorded instances of notorious criminals or political offenders, besides the one that has been mentioned, in which they were carried out to the bitter end. The commissioners, who drew up the new codes, recognising that the true principle of punishment existed not in extreme and vindictive severity, altogether disproportionate to the gravity of the offences, but in the certainty of the prompt infliction of that punishment, entirely eliminated the barbarous modes of execution which were provided in the old, largely curtailed the crimes for which

death was enjoined as the penalty, abolished merciless and excessive whipping, and for the majority of offences prescribed penal servitude or imprisonment with hard labour.

A few instances may serve to illustrate the progressive merciful tendencies of the legislators of the period. The

**Old and New
Punishments.**

punishments of crucifixion and burning alive were altogether abolished ; that of decapitation was retained but it was no longer to be followed by the subsequent exposure of the head, and the new punishment of hanging was prescribed as one that was one degree less in severity than that of death by decapitation. The punishments of standing in the pillory or of being led through the public streets with a halter, prior to the infliction of the death penalty were also abolished. Under the Shogunate law, theft, no matter under what circumstances of want or temptation it was committed, was invariably punished with death if the value of the stolen property exceeded 10 yen, a sum which was then equivalent to about £2 sterling. Under the new code of 1871, the value of the property stolen had to exceed 300 yen before it could be held to merit the death penalty, while under the revised code of 1873, the death penalty was entirely abolished for theft and penal servitude for life substituted in the cases that were punishable by death under the new code. The penalty of death by decapitation was still retained in all cases of violent robbery when the offenders were armed, but was not followed by the subsequent exposure of the head as in the Tokugawa days, while violent robbery without weapons was punished by penal servitude instead of as formerly by decapitation and exposure in all cases, the term being for life if the amount stolen was over 30 yen. Thieves, who at the time of the commission of the offence, were armed with swords, spears, pistols or guns, were always to be considered guilty of " violent robbery with weapons," and if they were armed with sickles, knives, hatchets, sheath-knives or clubs, it was in the discretion of the judge to include them, according to the special circumstances of each case, in the same

category. Under the Tokugawas, receiving stolen goods, irrespective of their value, infanticide, homicide by careless riding or by the negligent discharge of firearms, were also punished by death, but by the new codes they only became liable to definite terms of penal servitude. Incendiarism has always been one of the most serious crimes under Japanese law, the extent to which even the smallest fire may ultimately spread in crowded cities with narrow streets, in which an immense majority of the dwellings are constructed of wood and paper, being always unforeseeable. It was punished under the Shogunate by burning alive. The death penalty was very properly still retained for it in the new codes, but the form in which it was inflicted was that of decapitation or hanging, at the discretion of the judge.

These reforms showed that Japanese jurists and legislators were entering on a new stage of criminal jurisprudence, and

were acquiring a more merciful spirit than
 any by which they had been actuated at
 previous stages of their history, but much
 was still to be done. The stigma that was
 inflicted on national dignity by the existence

of the system of extritoriality was already recognised and it had become the dearest object of Japanese legislators to free their country from it. One essential to the attainment of this ambition was a code of criminal law which would, in its main elements, harmonise with those in existence in Europe, however much it might differ in its details. The two new codes, great advances though they were, were still far from fulfilling these requirements. The punishments, largely mitigated as they had been, were still more severe than those of Europe, while some of them, harmonising though they did with Japan's own social system in which the unit of society was the family and not the individual, were totally strange to modern Europeans. They contained special and definite punishments for the murder of the head of a household, of a father or mother, of an uncle or elder brother, of an employer

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or teacher, in all of which cases the offence was, according to Japanese ethics, incomparably graver than if committed against a stranger. While a child or a servant was liable to penal servitude for ten years for a common assault on parent or master, and a wife to the same penalty for an assault on her husband, a parent guilty of the wilful murder of a child, or a master of his servant, or a husband of his wife, was liable to no higher punishment than that of penal servitude for three years. Throughout both the codes there ran the spirit of the sanctity of relatives in the elder degree. What were most serious offences on the part of children, younger brothers, nephews, wives, and servants, were no offences at all when committed against them by parents, or other elders, by husbands or masters. Most serious of all objections on the part of Europeans to their submission to Japanese criminal law was that the provisions were still retained in the new codes, which admitted of the torture of accused persons, though the methods were shorn of the worst of their old horrors and limited to beatings with staves, the dimensions and construction of which were strictly prescribed. A commission was accordingly appointed to investigate European systems of criminal law, and M. Boissonade, a distinguished French jurist, was engaged as expert assistant.

The results of their labours, extended over several years, were the Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, published in 1880, though neither came into operation till 1882. Both are mainly based on the criminal law and procedure of France, but are in some degree adapted to the principles of the old Criminal Law of Japan. The Code of Criminal Procedure was revised in 1890, and the Criminal Code in 1908, both retaining their original fundamental principles, but with several important amendments, chiefly relating to celerity of procedure and to the provision of additional safeguards against undue delay in the proceedings which experience of their working had shown to be advisable.

Present
Criminal Codes.

The Codes classify criminal offences under twelve headings according as they are committed against : (1) the Emperor or Empress ; (2) the Public Peace ; (3) the Public Credit ; (4) Public Health ; (5) Cemeteries ; (6) Freedom of Trade or Work ; (7) Public Officers while engaged in the execution of their duty ; (8) Persons ; (9) Property ; or (10) By military persons, and further divide them into major (felonies) and minor (misdemeanors) offences. Under the latter are included police offences, which are those of the nature of the ordinary night charges daily heard in English police courts. The courts consist : (1) of Local Courts (magistracies), of which there may be several in one city, their number being in ratio to the population and area of the locality ; (2) District Courts, of which there is as a rule one in each prefecture, but with more or less branches when local circumstances require them ; (3) Courts of Appeal of which there are seven in the whole Empire ; and (4) the Supreme Court of Appeal at Tokio, all of which are vested with both civil and criminal jurisdiction. To every Court is attached a Procurator, who is charged with the entire conduct of every criminal prosecution throughout all its stages, to whom a written statement of the circumstances of the offence is handed by the police immediately an arrest has taken place, and whose functions in capital offences only end when he has witnessed the execution of the condemned. It is he who decides whether a charge is to be formulated and its precise nature ; whether its nature permits of it being tried in the first instance in a magistracy or a district court, or whether its gravity renders it advisable that it should be at once remitted to the Court of Appeal which, notwithstanding its name, exercises an original criminal jurisdiction ; whether bail should be granted pending trial ; and when the trial takes place he conducts the prosecution in court, so that he unites in himself all the functions of Grand Jury, public prosecutor and sheriff. As public prosecutor, his duties considerably exceed those of his compeer in England. Once

the prisoner has been committed for trial, it is his business to procure a conviction, and in addressing the court, both on law and fact, he suggests both the clause of the code under which the accused should be convicted and the exact sentence which should be passed under it. The judges, as a rule, follow his suggestions, though there is no specific obligation on them to do so, and if they err, there is a very wide right of appeal not only on law but on fact.

Offenders may be arrested on the spot in the cases mentioned in the succeeding chapter on the police. In all others

**Arrest and
Preliminary
Trial.**

the procedure must be on summons, which is issued from the office either of the police or the procurator of the magisterial court. The preliminary investigation is held *in camera*, and then if there is sufficient evidence, either from the prisoner himself or from witnesses, to justify a committal a formal trial takes place in open court, at which the prisoner may be represented by counsel. Under the old system no conviction could be made unless the prisoner confessed his guilt, and when all the circumstances were clear and no doubt could exist as to his guilt, torture was used to extract a formal confession if the prisoner was obstinate. In still earlier days, torture was used in all cases. The prisoner on his arrest was at once assumed to be guilty and if he failed to confess, torture of a very cruel nature—severe beatings, piling heavy weights on bended knees, long suspension of the body from an overhead beam to which the hands were tied, were some of its mildest forms—was resorted to with little or no antecedent inquiry. Even witnesses were not exempted from it. The modification of evidence first and torture afterwards was introduced by the new codes of 1871 and 1873, and torture was of course entirely abolished even before the code of 1880 was promulgated. Strange to say its prestige still survives and exercises such an influence that it rarely happens that a criminal who is guilty does not make a full confession at a very early stage of the formal proceedings.

If, however, the trial has to go on, it is held, if in a lower court, by one or three judges, if in a higher, by from three to five, according to the gravity of the offence in each case. At the preliminary examination the prisoner has already been subjected to a searching inquiry not only as to the particular offence with which he is charged, but also as to all the circumstances of his life, a practice which is founded on the provisions of the Code Napoleon, but which is also a relic of torture, which used to be euphemistically mentioned as "severe inquisition." The judges have the written report of this preliminary examination before them, and on it their President examines the prisoner, keeping always in view, as his main object, the extortion of an acknowledgment of his guilt from the prisoner himself; it is only when the Judge fails to obtain this acknowledgment that witnesses are called, and their examination also is undertaken by the President of the court. The Procurator is present and counsel for the prisoner may be present, and both are at liberty to put questions both to prisoner and to witnesses, but all questions must be put through the President, and the only independent action taken by either Procurator or counsel for the defence throughout the trial is when they address the court at the conclusion of the proceedings. They are then at liberty to put their respective cases before the court in the fullest manner, but an obligation is cast upon them to adhere strictly to what has been proved by the fact that their addresses are in some degree considered in the light of evidence. All evidence is taken down in writing and the form of oath that is adopted is another of the many incidents of topsy-turvydom which Japanese customs present to our own. It is taken after the witness has completed his evidence and not before it; its form is a declaration that the facts, as testified in the case, are correct, and to this the witness attaches his seal, sealing being the correlative in Japan of simple signing in England. When the trial is finished and a conviction obtained, the sentence is pronounced at once,

and the only restriction on the prerogative of the judges is that a capital sentence must, before it is carried out, be confirmed by the Emperor. It will be seen from what has been said above that there are no juries. It may be added that there is no such thing as a Habeas Corpus Act. Prisoners, however, must be brought before a magistrate within, at the outside, forty-eight hours from the time of their arrest, they may at the discretion of the magistrate be released on bail, and before they are committed for trial they cannot be remanded for a longer period than eight days, though successive remands may be made as often as the particular circumstances of the case require.

In marked contrast to the punishments of olden times, those inflicted by courts in Japan at the present day err rather on the side of leniency according to European ideas. The present writer can well remember when there was a daily average of six or seven executions in Tokio alone, and they were proportionately numerous throughout all the rest of the Empire. During the present century the number of capital sentences pronounced each year has averaged less than fifty throughout the whole Empire, exclusive of the Island of Formosa, and in the two latest years for which the published statistics are available, 1909 and 1910, they amounted to thirty-two and forty-eight respectively. The numbers in which the sentences were actually carried out was still less, eleven in 1909 and thirty in 1910, while sentences to long terms of penal servitude also show a correspondingly marked decline. The death penalty is carried out by hanging according to the English method ; other punishments are penal servitude for life or for a number of years, which is usually undergone at a distance from the place where the offence is committed, the largest convict depots being in the island of Hokkaido, where the convicts work in the mines, and imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a definite period. A wide discretion is given to the judges as to the terms of imprisonment which they

**Present Day
Sentences.**

may impose but, as before said, they usually follow the suggestion of the procurator in this respect. The total number of prisoners condemned for all offences throughout Japan in the year 1910 was 102,216, of whom nearly 47,000 were convicted of infractions of the laws against gambling. Murder does not invariably entail the penalty of death. Extenuating circumstances may be found, and while there were only thirty death sentences carried out in 1910, there were eight hundred and thirty cases of homicide in the same year, in two hundred and six of which the accused were women. In the case of the males, the principal motives of the homicides are hatred, revenge, spited love and jealousy ; while in that of the women the motive is, in a very large majority of the cases, attributed to domestic broils.

The offences which are comprised under the term of police offences and are dealt with summarily by a magistrate are punishable by a fine which may vary in amount from a few pence to 4s. or by imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term that must not exceed ten days. This is the highest punishment that can be inflicted in any case of common assault, that is, an assault which leaves no traces of injury on the person assaulted. If the slightest fracture or discoloration of the skin can be detected, even under the magnifying glass of a surgeon, the assault may be taken out of the category of police offences and remitted for formal trial but if not, no matter how cowardly on the part of the offender or how humiliating the circumstances under which it was committed may have been to the sufferer, the highest punishment that can be inflicted for it is that of ten days' imprisonment with hard labour. Law in England nominally gives higher protection to the person than to property, but in practice both magistrates and judges, judging by the comparative sentences which they pass for assaults that may be of a very brutal or humiliating nature and those which they inflict for petty thefts, often seem to place the sanctity of

Police
Offences.
Assaults.

property on a far higher plane than that of person. In Japan, the law prescribes the principle that judges and magistrates have put in practice in England, and while the Japanese rowdy, who wantonly assaults a woman or an inoffensive wayfarer, has at the worst nothing more to dread than the loss of his liberty for ten days, a trifle which is light as air to the modern hooligan, who is one of the most unfortunate products of Japan's new civilisation, the smallest offence against property must be tried by a judge and can be punished by a long term of imprisonment.

The other police offences are naturally of an extremely varied nature, and include many which are unknown to the criminal code. Among them are furious riding on horseback, riding or driving at night without a lantern, discharging firearms in the neighbourhood of houses, violating a prohibition of "no thoroughfare" on a public road, damaging tombstones or trees or plants in public gardens, throwing stones at lamps in public streets, defiling rivers or streams by throwing rubbish into them, selling obscene pictures, tattooing the body, selling for food the flesh of animals that have died from natural deaths, setting dogs to bite or bark at passers or at cattle, begging in the public roads or streets, and while the writer cannot say that they are still in existence, offences formerly included among them were those of a woman who cut her hair short without good reason or of persons who raised a dust on the high road to the inconvenience of other passengers on it.

Civil law was mainly founded on custom and usage, but the various codes that have been already mentioned as having been enacted from time to time, especially that of Taiho, contained a large number of clauses relating to civil rights and obligations, as well as to criminal matters. Little use was,

however, made of them. In the first place, very few officials were acquainted with their provisions. In the second, there was little need for them. There was scarcely any intercourse, either commercial or social, between the commoners living under the jurisdiction of different fiefs. Complications could, therefore, seldom arise between traders other than those who lived in the same fief and they were speedily settled by the ordinary executive officials of the fief on the principles of common sense and local custom which happened to commend themselves to the official who dealt with the case. Not infrequently he treated the defendant as a criminal. Such civil statute law as there was was contained in the same codes as the criminal law and the principles of the latter were applied by officials, ignorant of the primary elements of jurisprudence, to the settlement of cases that should have been dealt with solely in their civil aspects.

Before the ambition of the Japanese as to the recovery of their judicial autonomy could be realised by the revision of the early treaties with foreign powers, it was scarcely less necessary, in view of the large commercial interests held by Europeans in Japan, that their civil law should be reformed and established on a clear basis than it was in regard to their criminal law. After the opening of the country to the world and the abolition of feudalism, trade relations rapidly grew between persons not only of adjoining but even of widely separated districts. Under the new conditions of life cases frequently arose to which none of the existing laws, whether statute or customary, were found to be applicable, and in order to decide them, judges were obliged to have recourse to the precedents furnished by the laws and courts of Europe, and the need of a uniform and effective system of civil and commercial law applicable to the whole Empire was therefore soon felt as urgent. The attention of the Government was given to it from an early period in its existence, though not

**Civil Law in
pre-Restoration
Days.**

**Reform of Civil
Law.**

so early as in the case of the criminal law, and the preparation of the civil codes was initiated. In the preparation of their new civil as in that of the criminal code, the Japanese had recourse to the assistance of French experts, but for their commercial code they depended on German and even the civil code was, after its first draft had been made, largely modified on the principles of German law. The natural result was that both codes were impregnated with the great principles of the old Roman Law, modified by provisions which harmonised them as far as possible with the ancient customs and usages of Japan. Two codes were compiled, the civil and the commercial, and the first was put into operation in the year 1899, on the very day on which the extraterritorial clauses of the old treaties came to an end.

The Civil Code is divided into five books, which comprise in all 1,146 short chapters. The first book contains the general rules as to persons, both natural and juridical, defines both real and personal property and legal acts, and deals with the validity of the intentions of parties as to the creation and extinction of private rights, the law of agents, the conditions and periods under and for which legal acts continue valid, and the law of prescription, both extinctive and creative. The second book deals with rights in Rem, both movables and immovables, under the several headings of possession, ownership, superficies and emphyteusis, easements, liens, preferential rights, pledges and mortgages. The right of superficies is an important one, as it is under it that foreigners in their individual capacity can acquire real property in Japan exclusive of that in the old foreign settlements, which is held in perpetuity on leases granted by the Government when the settlements were founded. Its definition is "the right to use the land of another person for the purpose of erecting buildings, the buildings being the property of the superficiary." There is no limit to its duration, which is a matter of agreement between the parties, and, when no

Modern Civil
Code.

period is specified in the original agreement, the court is empowered, on the application of the parties, to fix it for a period of between twenty and fifty years. At the termination of the period, however caused, the superficiary is empowered to remove any buildings that he may have erected, but the owner of the land has the right to purchase them at their value at the time. Emphyteusis is a right similar in most of its aspects to that of superficies, but it is granted for the purposes not of building on but of farming the land belonging to another. The third book details the general rules which govern the rights of action, and the law of contracts and torts. The fourth, the law of the family, describes the rights and duties of its head and of the members composing it, and contains the laws of marriage and divorce, and of parents and children, including the laws of adoption, of parental rights, of guardianship, of the family councils, and finally, the law which makes it incumbent on all lineal blood relatives to support members of the family who have fallen into want.

The principles which have constituted the family and not the individual the unit of the social system of Japan, the laws and customs of marriage and of divorce and adoption, have been referred to elsewhere, and the contents of the fourth book of the code need not be now referred to other than in regard to some of the points which are illustrative of the present social conditions in Japan. In this book the old institutions of Japan have been conserved in a much greater degree than in others, but they have been modified in many of their provisions, and especially in those which define the degrees of relationship. According to the old principle, formulated in the Taiho code, and not only continued unimpaired down to the Restoration but included in the first criminal code promulgated by the new Government, there were five degrees of relationship, severally classified as follows—

Relations in the First Degree.—Parents, adopted parents, husband, child, adopted child.

Relations in the Second Degree.—Grandparents, stepmother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, husband's parents, wife, concubine, nephew, grandchild, daughter-in-law.

Relations in the Third Degree.—Great-grandparents, aunt by marriage, husband's nephew, cousin, half-brother, husband's grandparents, husband's uncles and aunts, concubine's child, nephew's wife, stepfather.

Relations in the Fourth Degree.—Great-great-grandparents, grand uncle and aunt, second cousin, husband's brothers, brother's wife, cousin's cousin, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle and aunt, wife's child by previous husband, brother's grandchild, cousin's son, sister's child, great-grandchild.

Relations in the Fifth Degree.—Wife's father and mother, aunt's son, mother's cousin, great-great-grandchild, daughter's child, son-in-law.

This table was originally adopted *en bloc* from China. It was replaced in the new civil code by the succinct definition that relations are blood relatives within six degrees of relationship, husbands and wives, and relatives by marriage within three degrees of relationship, and that all of these should be reckoned as combining to form the family, thus following the principles of Roman law. It will be seen that, under the Chinese system, a very great distinction was made in the relative legal positions of men and women. The husband, as towards the wife, was a relation in the first degree, while the wife was, as towards her husband, only in the second degree, and no legal distinction was made between her and the concubine, concubinage being then a legally recognised institution. On the other hand, while the child of the wife stood towards both its father and mother in the position of a relation of the first degree, the child of the concubine was towards both its father and his wife one only of the third degree. The distinction was one of great importance both in regard to succession and in the administration of the criminal law as the punishments, as already explained, inflicted for

offences against the person varied very greatly in proportion to the closeness of kinship between the parties and the fact whether the offender stood in the higher or in the lower degree.

The theory of the subjection of women, which was plain throughout the whole of the old codes, was very largely modified in the new civil code. A woman had formerly practically no rights, she could not even be the legal guardian of her own child.

**Legal Rights
of Women.**

Under the new, she holds the same degree of relationship to her husband as he does to her ; she can become the head of the family and is vested with full rights of inheritance and parental authority, and the only legal disability that remains is that in the succession to the headship of the family, she has to yield to any male in the same degree of relationship. The new code preserves all the privileges and rights of adoption which existed in the old. The last book deals with succession both to the headship of the family and to property and with wills, and in the latter it follows very closely the provisions of Roman Law.

The commercial code came into operation on the same day as the civil code and, like it, is divided into five books. The first book contains the general provisions of commercial law ; the second, the law of companies ; the third, the law of commercial acts ; the fourth, the law of bills of exchange ; and the fifth, maritime law. The law of bankruptcy had practically no existence prior to the compilation of the new code. There was in fact no requirement for it in the commercial life of feudal days. A trader would then only incur obligations to neighbours of his own fief, and if he could not discharge these himself his relatives had to do so for him. But when debts began to be incurred towards Europeans the case was very different, and the want of an effective bankruptcy law was one of the most serious disabilities under which European traders suffered in their early days in Japan

**Commercial
Code.**

The standard of commercial morality was very low among the Japanese traders with whom they were at first brought in contact, partly owing to the traditions which caused traders to be regarded as the lowest class of the social community, and imbued a large section of them with morality that justified the estimate in which they were held, and partly because the traders, with whom it was the lot of Europeans to deal at the open ports, where alone foreign trade could be carried on, were the lowest of a low class. They were entirely destitute of any moral sense of their obligation to fulfil a contract, no matter how formally made, when it appeared that doing so would involve them in the most insignificant pecuniary loss and when the defrauded European had recourse as plaintiff to the native courts of justice, the Japanese defendant invariably transferred all his property to a relative, so that, when the time came for enforcing a judgment that might have been obtained against him, it was found that, though he was apparently living in abundance, even in luxury, with every sign of comfort and wealth, there was nothing whatsoever standing in his name on which the judgment could be satisfied. The scandal continued into the nineties of the last century, at which time the writer can recall having asked a judge of one of the high courts whether, in all his experience, he could recollect one single instance in which a judgment, obtained against a native in favour of a European, had been satisfied, and he had to admit that he could not. To remedy this state of affairs a special bankruptcy law was compiled and put into force in the year 1893, without awaiting the completion of the entire commercial code. The new bankruptcy law, both in the provisions which it contains for securing that the whole of a debtor's property shall be available for the satisfaction of the just claims of his creditors and in the social disabilities which it inflicts on bankrupts, is not less severe than that of England, and it has had good results in promoting a higher degree of commercial honesty.

**Commercial
Morality.**

Before taking leave of law, a word must be said as to the judges and the members of the legal profession. There is a faculty of law in the University of Tokio, and there are also several private colleges, which make a speciality of their legal training.

Judges and
Barristers.

In one or other, a complete legal education is given, and it is from the graduates of the law faculty of the University or from these colleges that young men are admitted to the bar or that judges and public procurators are directly appointed, even though they may not have had any previous practical experience at the Bar. The candidates for both Bench and Bar, who are required to pass searching examinations, are very numerous, the legal profession both in its pecuniary results and in the opportunities which are incidental to it of political advancement, either in the shape of a seat in the Diet or a Government post, presenting strong attractions to the best intellects of Young Japan. There are altogether 375 courts in the Empire which give employment to 1,303 judges, 459 procurators, and nearly 4,100 clerks. Of the number of the legal practitioners there is no available information in London, but it is very large. The judges, who are appointed for life and who cannot be removed except on a conviction for misconduct, are not highly paid but they enjoy a dignified social position and afford another curious instance of topsy-turvydom. Young men do not go to the Bar with the expectation of earning a judgeship after a long career of strenuous work at the Bar, but they accept a judgeship in the hope that the experience and reputation which they may acquire while holding it will ultimately enable them to acquire a lucrative practice at the Bar.

Under the civil and commercial codes, Europeans resident in Japan practically enjoy all the rights and are subject to all the liabilities of Japanese subjects on precisely equal terms. There are only two important exceptions: they cannot own land, though they can lease it and become mortgagees of it. They have, however, all the rights of superficiaries and,



ENTRANCE TO SHINTO SHRINE NEAR YOKOHAMA

though they cannot become owners as individuals, they can do so as juridical persons, juridical persons including any combination of two or more individuals forming an association or trust for the ordinary purposes for which public societies are formed in Europe, religious, educational, charitable, scientific, artistic, etc., or an ordinary partnership, the object of which is commercial gain. The liabilities of Japanese from which Europeans are exempted are those of military service or contributions and from forced loans. Forced loans may appear not to be in keeping with an established and wide system of constitutionalism, but sufficient of the leaven of feudalism still remains to render, it is said, plutocrats still liable to hints from their Government, in times of national stress, that special contributions will not be declined.

It may not be out of place here to explain the position of Europeans in Japan under the old Treaties. Certain ports, the principal of which were Yokohama, Osaka, Kobe, Nagasaki and Hakodate, in the Empire were opened to the trade and residence of foreigners, and were known as the Open Ports, and Tokio, the capital, was though not a port, also open to foreign trade and residence after the Restoration. At each port and in Tokio, a certain district of greater or less extent was set apart for the residence of foreigners, the land in which was parcelled into lots and reserved exclusively for them, and acquired by them as perpetual leaseholds in consideration of an annual rent payable to the Government. These districts were known as the Foreign Settlements, and in them all foreigners (including Chinese) lived entirely apart from the natives, and their freedom of movement was limited to a distance of twenty miles around each settlement. In time, as the Japanese discovered what a valuable asset they had in their lovely scenery for the attraction of tourists and the money the latter brought with them, foreigners were permitted, as a privilege, to travel under passports throughout

the whole Empire, but, so long as the old Treaties continued in force, their permanent residence was always strictly confined to the settlements, the area of which was gradually extended as the number of the residents and the trade increased, and nowhere else could any foreigner acquire land in his own name. They were not subject to Japanese law or jurisdiction. They were governed entirely by their own consuls, who held courts and acted as judges in all civil and criminal matters in which the foreigner was either defendant or accused. This privilege constituted the system of extritoriality which is frequently mentioned in this volume, the system which secures to residents in a country not their own the same immunity from its laws as is enjoyed by an accredited ambassador in all countries. When the old Treaties came to an end in 1899, extritoriality was abolished, and for the first time all foreigners in Japan became subject to the native jurisdiction, precisely as an English resident in Germany or France is subject to the jurisdiction of those countries. The change was at the time viewed with great misgivings by European residents, who had hitherto been governed entirely by their own laws, administered by officials of their own nationality, but it is now admitted, after twelve years' experience, that none of their fears have been realised and they have continued to enjoy as complete security of person and property as they would have done in any Christian country in Europe.

CHAPTER XII

POLICE AND PRISONS

As it was with law, so it also was with police and prisons. Every detail connected with the arrest, trial and punishment of criminals in Japan was practically in the

**The Repression
of Crime prior
to
the Restoration.** same condition at the Restoration as it was when Iyeyasu established his government two hundred and fifty years previously.

During the ten years of foreign intercourse which Japan had experienced prior to the Restoration, nothing had been learned from Europe, no attempt had been made to learn anything, relating to the systems of criminal procedure and punishments that were in practice in Western countries, and in Japan both were still characterised by all the elements of inefficiency and cruelty that were prevalent in Europe during the Middle Ages. Social conditions rendered the detection of crime comparatively easy. The universal system of personal registration enabled the whereabouts of every citizen to be known. The fugitive criminal had no place of refuge even in his own country, still less abroad. Wherever he appeared beyond the limits of his own township, his presence had to be explained. Even when travelling on high-roads, barriers had to be passed, at every one of which he had to give an account of himself and the object of his journey, and every innkeeper was required to keep a watch on all his guests and to report at once to the authorities every incident of doubt and suspicion that their conduct or appearance might suggest. As detectives, the police were thoroughly efficient and the only chance of freedom open to fugitives from justice was to be found in mountains and forests away from all their fellow-men. In other respects, a police force can hardly have been said to exist, and it was fortunate that the

peace and order which, under the influence of feudalism, prevailed during the Tokugawa regime, gave little occasion for one. Night watchmen patrolled the wards of towns and villages, but they were neither drilled nor trained as policemen; they wore no uniform, and their only distinguishing symbols were long iron-tipped staves, mounted with iron rings, which were struck on the ground and the rings jingled as the watchmen passed on their rounds. Such guardians were intended only for the control of the commoners. They were not Samurai themselves, and none of them would have dared or was expected to face the sword of a drunken or violent Samurai. They were almost as little use for the prevention of crime on the part of law-breakers of their own class in life. The noise of the staves notified their presence to householders, but also, in the still night, gave warning of their approach long before they drew near, and arrests of criminals in *flagrante delicto* were rare. Indeed, it might be said that the principal function of the watchmen was to guard against fires and give speedy warning of their outbreak.

In the early days of the new Government, the tranquillity that had been so long preserved by the old entirely disappeared. Disorder replaced universal quiet, and street brawlings, frequently accompanied by bloodshed, robbery and incendiarism, became as marked by the frequency as they had previously been by the rarity of their occurrence. It was soon recognised that the old watchmen were useless for dealing with such circumstances, and a new force, enlisted entirely from Samurai, was created, at first only in the capital, but speedily extended throughout the country, and it was entrusted not only with what were strictly police duties but with the control of both fire brigades and prisons. The men were drilled and trained in their duties, uniformed and armed with swords and batons, and they soon gave promise of developing into the highly efficient force which the Japanese police have since become. They were picked men, who brought with them into their

**First Police
Reforms.**

new sphere the high ideals of duty which have always been the religion of the Samurai, and they were regarded as officials rather than simple policemen. Their sense of self-respect, therefore, suffered no decline from their new functions, and their prestige as Samurai was sufficient to establish their influence both on the commoners and on their fellows of their own rank in life. At first, their status, while of service in helping them to deal with offenders, was not without its drawbacks. There were no well-defined limits to their authority, and it was only human that men, who, as Samurai, had been accustomed throughout their lives to expect that the most abject deference should be rendered to them and to trample on all beneath them, should, when vested with the additional dignity of Government officials, sometimes stray beyond the borders of what are the proper functions of police officers and constitute themselves vindicators as well as protectors of law, and the force was, at first, as little popular among the peaceful townsfolk as had been the roystering, bullying Samurai of feudal days. Their exaggerated sense of their own importance and power, as well as some lingering remnant of the anti-foreign prejudices which they had imbibed in youth, occasionally led them into the commission of acts towards foreigners which involved their Government in vexatious and expensive complications. But police administration and discipline were studied in the great cities of Europe, as were other branches of administrative government and science, and in the year 1875, regulations, based on those of Europe, were drawn up and promulgated, under which the duties of the police were minutely prescribed. With longer experience, better instruction under foreign experts, both in executive and legal duties, perhaps above all with the growing appreciation of the rights as well as of the duties of the people that was universal among all classes, the police gradually lost the worst of their original faults and adapted themselves to the new social conditions of the nation. The regulations of 1875 continued in force till 1890, when constitutional government made its

first practical essays, and they were then replaced by the "Executive Law of the Police," which is still in force.

The police of the Empire consisted in 1910, the latest date for which returns are available, of 4,349 officers and civilian employees of all grades and 43,327 men, these

**Present
Constitution of
the Police
Force.**

numbers giving an average of one police officer for every 1,222 inhabitants. The whole force is an Imperial one, administered by a Bureau of the Home Office, and while a certain latitude is allowed to the local prefects to adapt the general regulations to the peculiar conditions which may characterise their prefectures, all changes have to be approved by the Home Office which exercises a supreme control. In the capital, there is a Commissioner of Police, who is independent of the Prefect of the city and directly responsible to the Home Minister, but with that exception, the chief police officer in every city and district is subordinate to the prefect and acts under his orders. In each prefecture there is one chief constable, and under him are inspectors, sergeants and constables, in proportion to the population and area. While the force is Imperial, its cost is, to a large extent, defrayed from local revenues, and the inhabitants are therefore able through their representatives in the local assemblies, to which all local budgets have to be submitted, to exercise some influence both on its administration and strength.

The duties of the police are naturally extensive, more so than in Great Britain, and not limited to criminal affairs.

**Duties of the
Police.
The Retail Drink
Trade.**

Fire brigades, sanitation, quarantine, pawn-brokers, food and drugs, hawkers, dealers in second-hand goods, all come within their sphere, both as to the issue of licences, where they are necessary, and general control. The retail drink trade is practically subject to no greater restrictions than any other trade, either as regards licensing or taxation. Until a very recent period, within which "Beer

saloons," where both native and foreign liquors are sold and to which customers resort solely for drinking purposes, have become a prominent feature in the principal streets of the capital, and to a less but still a considerable degree in other great towns, drink was only retailed for consumption on the premises in restaurants, and neither keepers nor customers ever thought of selling or buying drink without food to be consumed along with it. So much so was this the case that the primary meaning of the most current vernacular word for fish (sakana), the material of the principal dishes that are provided at all restaurants, was "anything eaten to the accompaniment of native liquor (saké)." Keepers of restaurants and even of the modern beer saloons have, like other retail traders, to apply to the police for licences, but they are granted at once if there is no doubt of the respectability and solvency of the applicants, without regard to those already in existence in the same district as that in which the applicant proposes to start a new business. There are no restrictions as to the hours at which the licensee may carry on his business, nor have special fees, either Imperial or local, higher than those of other tradesmen, to be paid. All the great revenue which the Government obtains from drink is levied entirely at the breweries or other places of production, and the direct taxation of retailers, whether for consumption on the premises or elsewhere, may be said to be nil.

With all this freedom, drunkenness, however much there may be of it within doors, is rarely seen in the streets, and the few cases which do occur are those of the lowest coolies. In this respect, a great change for the better has taken place. Formerly the idle, dissolute members of the Samurai class, in a state of intoxication that made them both offensive and dangerous to others, were common features every nightfall in the capital; and a little later, the newly enrolled conscripts, who endeavoured to imitate the manners and customs of the dis-franchised Samurai, were scarcely less objectionable. But

**Rarity of
Drunkenness.**

all this seems to have changed. The loafing Samurai has vanished, and the rank and file of the army, when out of doors in uniform, are as self-respecting and dignified as English Lifeguardsmen. The present writer cannot now recall one single instance in all the long years of his residence in all parts of Japan, from Hokkaido to Formosa, in which he has seen or heard of a drunken woman in the streets.

In regard to crime, the police are taught that prevention is preferable to detection, and when a crime is committed,

**Power of
Arrest.**

their power of arrest without a warrant is limited to cases in which the offender is taken *in flagrante*, or when the information is given

to them immediately after its occurrence by a person who has seen it committed, or by the sufferer.

Whatever may have been the faults of the force in its early days, they have long since disappeared, and the police of

**Present
Character
of the Police
Force.**

Japan of the present day might well serve as a model for those of any European nation.

The recruits continue to be, though not exclusively, mainly from the Samurai class, and while the old high standard of personal

honour is maintained which causes them to look with scorn not only on a proffered bribe but on anything in the shape of gratuity for services rendered, they have adapted their pride of caste to modern sentiment and in their general demeanour to their fellow-countrymen follow English rather than German models. To Europeans they are invariably courteous. Though anxious to give whatever help may be in their power to facilitate the object of the sightseer, they are never obtrusive, and when their interference is called for, it is rendered with the graceful dignity which becomes the descendants of a long line of ancestors of gentle blood. It may seem strange to Western ideas to associate pride of descent with a common policeman, but so it is in Japan, and it is to this very pride that so much of the undoubted excellence of the Japanese police is now due. It has also contributed to the maintenance

among them of the old accomplishments of their ancestors. The most skilful exponents of the present day of the arts of fencing and of jiu-jitsu, the art which teaches how brute strength may be overcome by dexterity, are to be found among policemen, most of whose "off duty" time is devoted to their cultivation.

Before parting with the police, the gens d'armes should be mentioned, the military police, recruited from picked soldiers, chosen for their physique, intelligence and good conduct, whose principal duty is to act as military police in garrison towns but who can be called upon at any time to assist the civil police or, in the absence of a member of the latter, to act independently either in the prevention or repression of ordinary crime. The gens d'armes are under the control of the War Office, but are answerable to the civil authorities for all their actions towards ordinary lay citizens.

Prisons at the Restoration were infernos of human suffering, where accused and convicted were herded in common in crowded cages, destitute of every element of sanitation, without protection against either the bitter winter cold or the stifling heat of summer, deficient in both light and air, in which torture in horrible forms, both that which was authorised by the law and that which was inflicted at will by tyrannical or corrupt gaolers, was a daily incident. No provision was then made for prompt trial. The detention of accused but innocent persons lasted practically till they could purchase their liberation from gaoler or official, and during it the only difference that was made in their treatment from that of convicted felons, either in their food, clothing or discipline, was what they could pay for. The subordinate gaolers were taken from among the prisoners. They were called the "prison mayors," and both their cruelty and extortion were proverbial.

Prisons prior
to the
Restoration.

Early police reforms were suggested by the visible necessity of dealing with open disorder. Prisons would possibly have remained in their old condition and awaited

Prison Reform. the solving of the more pressing questions which absorbed the attention of the new Government, had its members not been vehemently reproached by Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister at the court of the Emperor, as to the blot with which the system stained Japan's civilisation. The whole criminal law with its delays, its provisions for torture, and its terribly drastic punishments, was no less a blot, but while time would be required to amend law that had existed for a thousand years, prisons could be reformed without great expense either of money or time. In the British Colonies of Hong-Kong and Singapore, almost at Japan's very doors, there were prisons constructed and conducted according to the best modern ideal, the prisoners in which were almost exclusively Asiatics, and at Sir Harry Parkes's suggestion, a commission was sent, under the guidance of an officer of the English consular service in Japan, to investigate the systems in both colonies. On its return, a new prison was at once erected in Tokio which was intended to serve as a model for others to be afterwards gradually erected both in the capital and in the provinces. Its design was, however, not subsequently repeated, but new prisons were rapidly built, and in them all that the members of the commission had learnt during their tour in regard to sanitation, food, clothing, cleanliness, ventilation, the segregation of accused and convicted, of confirmed criminals and first offenders, was put in practice.

The whole aspect of prison life soon changed, and from having been one of unrelieved and hideous suffering, it gradually became one whose predominating

Present System of Punishment. feature is its mercy to the prisoner. While the obligation towards society of adequately punishing the prisoner for his crime is kept steadily in view, and loss of liberty is not the only form of his punishment,

that of reforming him is considered the more paramount duty. The first year of a long sentence of penal servitude is passed in the most arduous unskilled labour, such as kneading clay for brick-making, earth excavation and the like. Thenceforward, if the prisoner's conduct during the first year has been irreproachable, his penal labour is entirely that for which his former life has best qualified him, whether professional or clerical work, skilled or unskilled. In the latter case he is not unfrequently, while in prison, taught a skilled trade, but even if he is not, every means is taken to spare his degradation during the remaining term of his sentence either by work or association, and to render him, when his release comes, fitted to start on a new career and to earn an honest livelihood.

The writer has seen the interior of Japanese prisons in every part of the Empire, from the great convict depôts at the coal-mines in the centre of Hokkaido to those in the extreme south of Formosa, the latter occupied almost exclusively by prisoners of Chinese race. In all the conditions were marked by similar degrees of humanity and efficiency. In all the prisoners were well lodged, fed and clothed, according to the standards of Japanese life. Among them were artists, physicians, schoolmasters, skilled artisans of almost every trade. Once he saw one who had been a Secretary of Legation, whom the temptations of life in Paris had induced to make free with the Legation chest, and who was expiating his offence in penal servitude. All were engaged in work for which their previous lives had fitted them, and every one was provided with the facilities of space, segregation and materials which his work required. The artists were painting or carving, the physicians in the dispensary or hospital, the schoolmasters teaching juvenile prisoners; mechanical engineers were in the machine shop, and the ex-Secretary of Legation was translating a French book into Japanese, so that in no individual case did the expiration of his sentence leave the convict less fitted for his original work, as far as technical skill was concerned, than he

**Prisoners'
Occupations.**

was at the beginning. Heavily enough punished for their transgressions, however serious, by the loss of liberty and reputation, they were free from the humiliating thought that, like solicitors and bank clerks in England, for whom the prison laundry and tailor's shop are considered to provide a fitting sphere of occupation, they were daily becoming more and more deteriorated and unfitted to face the future. There is no objection to the sale outside of the products of the prison workshops. No cry has yet been raised as to the competition of prison with free labour. Commissions are accepted by the prison officials for almost any kind of work, and part of the proceeds is credited to the prisoner, so that often on his discharge he has a substantial sum wherewith to start on his new life. All the reforms which Mr. Churchill has recently established in the prison system of England have already been long in practice in Japan, and been fully justified by their results. The writer has conversed freely with all classes of prisoners and found that among all the prevailing spirit was one of hope and not of despair for the future.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NAVY AND THE ARMY

THE constitutional and commercial development of Japan, her army, her diplomacy and the changing conditions of the domestic life of her people are all subjects whose interest should make their detailed study attractive to the English people ; but there is no chapter in her modern progress which should be more so than that which tells of her rise to a great naval power. Other Western nations have shared in the teaching, which was given to her both by example and precept, in the stages of her advance in other matters, but for all she has achieved in those of the navy, its organisation and management, she is indebted to no outside influence or assistance save those of England. It was the example of England that first stirred her to give her attention to the creation of a navy, to the possibilities that were open to her, to the national necessity of using them to the utmost ; the Dutch had a small share in teaching her at the outset the simplest elements of naval science but that was in very early days, before the Restoration was even dreamt of, and their teaching lasted but for the briefest period. For all her real acquirements she was indebted exclusively to English officers. It was in England that her first powerful ships of modern type were built, and it is as a naval power that her alliance is now most valuable to us. It is from her ships that the English people, who have not visited Japan, have had the best opportunity of forming a judgment of her strength as a militant power. They have repeatedly seen representative ships at our naval ports, and they have also seen the trim and sturdy bluejackets who man them holiday-making in the public streets, or occasionally marching through them in formal array under the command of their own officers. Of her

constitutional and commercial development and of her army they can, on the other hand, only form an estimate by what they have read or heard. Our own officers cordially recognise that at the present date the Japanese navy is well qualified to take its place in the fighting line alongside our own against any combination of the navies of the world, that neither the skill of the officers nor the bravery of the men would ever fall below the best standards of our own smartest crews, and that, whether in peace or in war, the two flags can worthily float alongside each other as equals in everything that tends to triumph on the seas.

In the earliest period of their history, even in that which does not rise above mythology, the Japanese are found conducting their military operations by sea. **Early Naval History.** Jimmu Tenno sailed in his ships, their bows decorated with bronze mirrors, and fought through the whole length of the Inland Sea before landing at Naniwa, the modern Osaka, and thence venturing to push his fortunes inland. After that, the records are silent for some centuries as to any maritime operations, but in the year 200 A.D. the Empress Jingo led a strong navy across the Straits when the great invasion of Korea took place, and this was the precursor of many subsequent marauding or invading expeditions which, as the Koreans were no contemptible foes, must have tested the skill and bravery of the Japanese sailors when the soldiers were being landed on their enemy's coasts. In the thirteenth century, the Japanese fought as bravely in their small craft against the huge, heavily-armed Mongol galleons as did Effingham and his admirals against those of Spain in the English Channel, and both the strategy and tactics of the Japanese sailors were exactly similar to those which the English adopted three hundred years later against the Armada of Philip of Spain. Before the Mongol invasion, a great battle on the sea had been fought in the Civil War between the rival Taira and Minamoto families, which may not unfittingly be described as one of the decisive naval battles



SCENE ON THE STRAITS OF SHIMONOSEKI

of the world. On a bright May day in 1195, seven hundred Minamoto ships attacked the Taira fleet of five hundred ships in the Straits of Shimonoseki, and after a stoutly contested fight, which lasted throughout the whole of the long day, the Taira were utterly defeated and Yoritomo, the great leader of the Minamoto was fully established as the Regent of the Empire.

In the invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi, the Japanese navy did not cover itself with glory. It convoyed the armies safely across the seas but when it came to a battle, in which the Korean fleet was led by an able admiral, both the Japanese ships and sailors proved inferior to their foes. They were unable to retain the command of the seas, and the consequence was the ultimate failure of all Hideyoshi's ambitious plans. Their next stage in over-seas expeditions was when a fleet took possession of Formosa, near the close of the sixteenth century, but soon afterwards Iyemitsu's suicidal edict, quoted in the chapter on merchant shipping, put an end to all maritime enterprise for more than two centuries, during which we hear nothing of Japanese on the sea either as naval or merchant sailors.

**Decline of
Japan as a
Naval Power.**

Early in the nineteenth century, Russian vessels of war began to appear on the northern coasts of the Empire, and when they were followed, in the middle of the century, by the arrival of Perry's great squadron in the Gulf of Yedo, the alarm of the Government was fully roused and their own evident helplessness on the sea for the first time taught them the great mistake which Iyemitsu had made. His edict was withdrawn. The aid of the Dutch was sought in founding a naval school on a very small scale at Nagasaki; a dockyard was constructed and the pupils who received their first teaching from the Dutchmen at Nagasaki were brought to Yedo, where they, in their turn, imparted the little knowledge they had acquired to other pupils of their own country. Two sea-going ships were, about the same time, received as presents by the Government,

**Beginning of
Modern Navy.**

one a paddle-wheel steamer, carrying six guns, from the Dutch, and the other, a small screw yacht named the *Emperor*, mounted with four guns, from the Queen of England. The two were made the nucleus of a navy, and they were the first men-of-war, constructed on European models, that were owned by Japan. Their possession stirred the Government to greater interest than it had hitherto taken in naval affairs. Teaching went on and, in 1860, officers and sailors were sufficiently skilled to navigate a small steam-corvette across the Pacific to San Francisco and back again, which they did in safety. This was the first Japanese warship that ever crossed the great Ocean. Then naval students were sent to Holland, and a larger warship, a wooden frigate of 2,000 tons and 26 guns, with engines of 400 horse-power, named the *Kayo Maru*, was ordered from Holland, and when she was completed, she was safely navigated to Japan, officered only by the students who had been studying in Holland. Some other purchases of obsolete warships were made by the Government, the most conspicuous of which was the *Eagle*, a British paddle-wheel corvette which had served in the Crimean War. Simultaneously the services of English naval officers were obtained as instructors from Great Britain, at the head of whom was the officer who afterwards became Admiral Sir Richard Tracey, and by them a naval college was organised at Yokohama and the efficiency of the students who were trained in it was amply proved very shortly afterwards. A dockyard was also founded by French engineers at Yokosuka, in which the Japanese gained the first knowledge of the construction of warships on Western models.

All this time the Shogun's Government was in the last stages of its decline, and, in 1868, its fall came. Everywhere its armies had been beaten on land. Its cause was hopeless, and the Shogun surrendered the power which had been held by himself and his ancestors and by predecessors of other families for eight centuries. The Emperor then resumed

Result of the
Fall of
the Shogunate.

the active administration of the Government. The college at Yokohama came to an end in the confusion that preceded and attended the Restoration. The officers returned to England, and the ships which the Shogun had owned all nominally came into the possession of the new Government.

The principal of the naval students who had been sent to Holland was Enomoto who, in later years, became an admiral in the Imperial navy and a distinguished statesman, who served his country not only as an admiral of the navy but as its diplomatic representative in a trying period at St. Petersburg, as Minister for Foreign Affairs and finally as Prime Minister. When he brought the *Kayo Maru* safely into Yokohama, after his long voyage round the Cape from Holland, he found that the Government of the Shogun, whose servant and devoted adherent he was, was gone, and the new Government of the Emperor, to all of whose members he was a stranger, was in power in Yedo, but there were some, both nobles and soldiers, who had refused to obey the orders to surrender which had been given to them, not only by the Emperor but by their own master, the Shogun, and were still holding out against the authority of the Emperor in the North of Japan. Enomoto joined their cause. In addition to the *Kayo Maru*, his own ship, seven others, including the old *Eagle* and the little *Emperor*, were anchored in the roadstead at Shinagawa in Yedo Bay. He easily won over their crews, and reinforced by a large number of the disbanded soldiers of the Shogun, more than three thousand of whom embarked on the ships, the whole fleet sailed away from its anchorage.

The new Ministers were at the time distracted in their heavy task of establishing order and peace after the civil war.

Difficulties
of New
Government.

They dreaded having their domestic complications intensified by new ones with Western Powers. They did not know where Enomoto and his ships had gone nor what was his object, and they recognised the possibility of very serious

complications if he should embroil them with Western Powers by any violence to European ships on the coasts of Japan. They were therefore in a state of intense alarm until it was ascertained that he had arrived at the town of Hakodate, in the northern island of Yezo; but even then their anxiety was not at an end. Hakodate was an open port, a port open, under treaty, to the residence and trade of Europeans, and it was doubtful how Enomoto might deal with the Europeans who were there and the large commercial interests which they had in the place. The Government had no ships in which to pursue him, and their whole position was one sufficient to try to the utmost the nerves and wisdom of statesmen who were, one and all, entirely new to their duties. In this conjuncture they were fortunately spared from any difficulties raised by the diplomatic representatives of the Western Powers at the capital. The New Government of the Emperor was now fully recognised. Enomoto and his followers could hope for no foreign sympathy or assistance, while no objection was offered to the acquisition by the Government of a new ship of war to be used in the subjugation of rebels and pirates such as Enomoto and his men had now made themselves.

The Government accordingly purchased from the United States an ironclad ram, which was known as the *Stonewall Jackson*, and though small, being only of twelve hundred tons, was a powerful ship for those days, both in her armament and armour. She was the first ironclad owned by the Japanese. A miscellaneous fleet, formed out of old merchant steamers, was then prepared and an army of 6,500 men embarked in it, and all, with the *Stonewall* at their head, sailed from Yedo for Hakodate. There Enomoto had established himself and, having strongly fortified both Hakodate and the outlying towns with entrenchments, declared his independence with a view of founding a new home for the followers of the Shogun, who had now lost all they possessed and were faced by destitution in the future. He thought he would be able to hold his

Japan's First
Ironclad.

own against any marine force which the Government could send against him ; but his hopes were soon shattered, firstly, by the loss of the *Kayo Maru* which struck on a sunken rock on the unsurveyed coast and became a total wreck, and, secondly, by the tidings that were sent to him from sympathisers in Yedo that the Government had acquired the *Stonewall Jackson*. He knew that he had nothing that could resist the ironclad, and that his fortunes could only be redeemed by a bold stroke.

The Imperial fleet, while on its way to the north, anchored in the land-locked harbour of Miako, which is about halfway between Yokohama and Hakodate, on the east coast of Nippon. There it remained for several days and, as no danger was apprehended, discipline was not very strictly maintained. The fires were allowed to go out, and leave was freely given to both officers and men to go on shore. Enomoto, informed of this by his spies, determined that an attempt should be made to capture the ironclad and the task was given to three of his ships, which left Hakodate secretly in the darkness of night. Just after they had done so they encountered a violent gale before which two were driven far out to sea and only the *Eagle* succeeded in reaching Miako early on the following morning. The entrance to the harbour is narrow and completely obscured from the sea by cliffs on either side, which overlap each other. While everyone in the Imperial fleet was at ease, expecting nothing less in the world than that an attack should be made on them, a steamer, flying the American flag, was seen to be coming round the innermost point at the entrance to the harbour. Her coming caused no excitement until she suddenly replaced the American by the national flag of Japan and made straight for the ironclad. Then she was recognised as the *Eagle*. She was quickly alongside, and from her bulwarks, which towered 12 feet above the decks of the low-lying ironclad, her officers and crew, leaping down, made a desperate attempt to take their enemy by boarding. The

The First
Naval Fight.

latter's crew were taken entirely by surprise but they soon rallied, and the captain of the *Eagle* having been killed, his boarders were finally driven back to their own ship and the daring attempt was at an end. The *Eagle* left the harbour, none of the Government ships having steam ready that would have enabled them to pursue her. She succeeded in reaching Hakodate again, but only one of her two consorts had the same good fortune; the engines of the third broke down during the gale, and as there was no one on board with sufficient engineering experience to repair them, she had to be abandoned at sea, her officers and crew being taken on board the third of the three ships.

Then the whole Imperial fleet continued on its voyage to Hakodate, where several very fiercely fought naval engagements soon took place between it and Enomoto's surviving ships. The fights were

**Naval Actions
at Hakodate.**

hopelessly unequal from the first; nothing could stand against the guns and armour of the ironclad. One after another of Enomoto's ships was destroyed, and at last, when the final act of the naval drama took place, he had nothing left but the little *Emperor*. Her end and that of the brave men who manned her were worthy of the best traditions of the English navy. She advanced from the harbour alone to meet the whole of the Imperial fleet, with the ironclad at its head, and, though she was destroyed, she fought the unequal battle for over an hour, and succeeded in destroying one of her enemy's ships before her own end came. With her the naval operations also ended and the capture of Hakodate was then committed to the land forces.

We have told the story of the naval operations as they gave an indication of what Japanese sailors might be expected to do in the future whenever they were called

**Personnel of
the Rival Fleets
at Hakodate.**

upon to face foreign foes. All Enomoto's crews had had nautical experience, and many of his officers were graduates from Admiral Tracey's college, in which they had acquired a knowledge of

gunnery and naval tactics that reflected the highest credit both on their instructors and on themselves. The Imperial crews, on the other hand, had little or no nautical experience either in gunnery or in seamanship. They were fighting men pure and simple, and if they did not at once attack and make an end of Enomoto's inferior ships while in the harbour of Hakodate, it is to be remembered that they properly hesitated to risk the safety of the ironclad in shallow, uncharted waters, that were totally unknown to them. It was not from any fear on their part or any hesitation to put the decision to the ordeal of battle. While both sides displayed undaunted courage, the enterprise and skill of Enomoto and his officers equalled their courage. The attempt to capture the ironclad at Miako was boldly conceived and skilfully carried out and, had it not been for the accident which deprived the *Eagle* of her consorts and caused the death of her captain, would probably have been successful, while in the last incidents at Hakodate, neither his officers nor men ever quailed for a moment when under a rain of fire from the ironclad, on which their own feeble guns could make no impression whatever. The ironclad's crew were no less undaunted when they were taken by surprise by the boarders of the *Eagle*. In such a case it would have caused no very great surprise had they taken refuge below the decks, but no thought of that ever occurred to them. Seizing their cutlasses and pikes, they boldly faced the boarders, and when the first moment of confusion had passed, their numbers enabled them to drive back their enemies, bold and determined as they were.

After the fall of Hakodate, there was peace in Japan, broken, during the next seven years, only by local disturbances which scarcely attained greater dignity than that of riots, and by an expedition against the savages of Formosa. Then at the close of 1876, the great Satsuma insurrection broke out and was not quenched till after seven months of arduous campaigning on land, which tested the

Navy not
Required in
Satsuma
Insurrection.

resources of the Government both in men and money to the very utmost. It was, however, only a war on land. The rebels had no ships and the Japanese navy had no part in their suppression, and the active services of the navy were not again called into requisition until the war with China broke out in 1894, a quarter of a century after the last fight at Hadodate.

Whatever inducement may have been wanting to the Government in its early career to encourage them in giving their attention to naval affairs was provided

**Beginning of
Naval
Organisation.**

by the Hadodate incident ; it showed the advantages of sea-power and it still more showed them the admirable material which they had at their disposal for the personnel of an efficient navy. Up till that time the military and naval affairs of the nation had been administered in one department of the Government. Now the army and navy were separated. A War Office to deal with the army and an Admiralty to deal with the navy were created, and both entered on their task with all the zeal and energy permitted by the limited financial resources that the Government, with a depleted treasury and a new and untried system of national taxation, were able to place at their disposal. A great naval college was founded at Tokio. Once more, as under the Shogunate, England was appealed to for instructors, and a mission, headed by Commander Douglas (afterwards Admiral Sir A. Douglas), consisting of six commissioned officers of the executive and engineering branches of the service and of twenty-seven non-commissioned officers and seamen, all picked men of the highest grade both of skill and conduct, was sent from England and at once started on its duties in Tokio of creating an expert personnel for a navy, of which only the first elements in the way of ships as yet existed, out of pupils most of whom were entirely unacquainted with the sea. Commander Douglas remained in Japan for about three years ; other English officers afterwards continued his duties for a few more years,

and then, when the Japanese officers had acquired the practical knowledge of their profession as far as gunnery, navigation and the management of their individual ships were concerned, another officer of high rank in the British Navy (Admiral Inglis) took up the higher branch of their education and taught them the strategy and tactics of fleets. The teaching was, as might be expected from the nationality and standing of the teachers, of the highest quality. Where teachers were efficient and pupils eager, intelligent and industrious, the natural results followed, and when the China War occurred the Japanese nation had at its disposal a naval personnel of which no country in the world need have been ashamed.

We will now turn to the gradual creation of the fleet as regards its ships as distinct from the officers and crews. Prior

**The Beginning
of a Fleet.**

to the abolition of feudalism, some of the more powerful and wealthy feudatories, who had not been behind the Government of the Shogun in learning the material value of sea-power and transport, had bought ships for themselves, and one of them, the Lord of Higo, a very powerful fief in Kiushiu, had acquired a fully equipped, iron-belted corvette of 1,500 tons, which he had caused to be built to his order at Aberdeen. She did not arrive in Japan in time to take part in the fight at Hakodate, and when she did, her owner, who had already surrendered his fief to the Emperor, was invited to complete his generosity by handing over his newly-acquired corvette. Other feudatories, who owned various nondescript ships, received similar invitations, and when Commander Douglas's college started on its way, there was a heterogeneous fleet in existence of small out-of-date ships, the principal of which were the *Stonewall Jackson*, now called the *Adzuma*, an old poetical name for the great plain in the East of Nippon, on which lies the capital, Tokio; the Higo corvette, now called the *Riojo*, and another corvette, purchased after the Hakodate incident, originally the *Malacca* of the British Navy, and now called the *Tsukuba*. The whole fleet numbered eighteen ships, but

these three were the only ones among them whose construction gave them the slightest claim to be considered as men-of-war ; none of the others rose above the dignity of a merchant steamer.

Such as they were, they were amply sufficient for the immediate requirements of the Japanese who, no matter how eager to create a strong navy, had the good sense to recognise that ships were no use without officers and men to man them, and that ambition should not outrun the purse, and it was not till 1875, when the Government was fully organised and the future domestic peace of the country seemed to be secured, that they commenced the task of providing themselves with modern fighting ships. Then three ships were ordered from England, one a broadside central-battery ship of 3,700 tons, and two composite cruisers each of 2,200 tons, all designed by Sir Edward Reed, the great English naval architect of that time, and the three were all commissioned for service in Japan immediately after their arrival in 1877. By this time progress had been made not only in the management but in the building of ships, and the Yokosuka dockyard was sufficiently efficient both to carry out the necessary repairs of ships already in existence and to build new ones which, though of small capacity, were thoroughly efficient in their own degree as gunboats and despatch vessels. For what they have learned in this department of their navy the Japanese are mainly indebted to French engineers. The late Mr. Francis Elgar was for a very few years in Japanese service as a naval architect, but he forms the only exception to the employment of French experts in the organisation and development of the constructive department of the Japanese navy. Sir Edward Reed's ships were followed during the succeeding year by several protected cruisers, the largest of which were the three sister ships, the *Itsukushima*, the *Matsushima* and the *Hashidate*, the two first built in France and the last in Japan in the dockyard at Yokosuka on similar lines, and a

fourth, the *Yoshino*, of slightly smaller tonnage but of much larger armament and greater speed, and these were the most formidable vessels which the Japanese possessed at the outbreak of the war with China in 1894. She had several other protected cruisers, heavily armed and of great speed, all, like the *Yoshino*, built in England, and also a fleet of gunboats and twenty-four torpedo boats of the most modern type of the time; but she had not as yet a single battleship with which to meet the powerfully armed and heavily plated battleships of the Chinese navy, and her whole fighting fleet numbered only twenty-eight ships, exclusive of the torpedo boats.

The results of the naval engagements of the war proved the old theory that it is the man behind the gun who counts

The Japanese
Fleet in the
China War.

most in naval warfare, and that the Japanese seamen were worthy to be behind any gun. There were several desultory engagements of individual ships in which the Japanese always had the advantage and at last, on the 16th of September, 1894, the two main fleets met off the island of Haiyang, in the north of the Bay of Korea. There a great battle was fought, which lasted for three hours, at the end of which the remnants of the Chinese fleet withdrew, four of the ships with which it had gone into action having been sunk while another was so damaged that she had to be run aground. The Japanese did not lose a single ship, but their ammunition was exhausted, and the two Chinese ironclad battleships being still uninjured, they could not risk a pursuit of their enemy, but they justly claimed that they were victors in the fight. This was the last engagement that took place during the war on the high seas but the navy had still to play a brilliant part in subsequent operations, interchanging a heavy fire with the fortresses at Wei-hai-wei and Port Arthur while they were being attacked from the land by the army and, last of all, in carrying out a night torpedo attack on the Chinese ships that were anchored under the shelter of the forts in the harbour of Wei-hai-wei, whose mouth was closed by heavy booms against entrance from the sea.

The attack was carried out in the bitter cold of a midwinter night in Northern China, and its success proved that the skill, courage, and endurance of the officers and crew of the torpedo fleet were no less than those of their confrères in the ocean-going cruisers. Seventeen Chinese ships, including one battleship, were captured during the war, and on its conclusion added under new names to the Japanese fleet.

The lessons of the war, followed by the interference of Russia, Germany and France, which deprived Japan of the territory on the Asiatic continent that had been ceded to her by China as one of the conditions of peace, taught the Japanese that, victorious as they had been and able to secure

**Policy of
Naval
Expansion.**

the command of the sea while at war with such a power as China, national pride and safety demanded that they should provide for future contingencies by considerably increasing their navy. A policy of naval expansion was then entered upon and large financial provisions were made to meet the increased naval expenditure, both "ordinary," for the maintenance of the ships already afloat, and for the upkeep of the dockyards, and "extraordinary" for the construction of new ships of the most modern and powerful types and for the building of new dockyards. From that time the expansion of the navy steadily grew until the outbreak of the Russian War, when Japan found herself with a fleet of seventy-six war vessels of varying type from her six battleships of from 15,000 to 12,000 tons each, down to torpedo-destroyers of 381 tons, with, in addition, a mosquito fleet of eighty torpedo boats. The dockyard accommodation and capacity were equal to providing for all the ordinary requisites of the fleet, and contained factories in which not only ammunition but heavy guns and torpedos could be produced in sufficient quantity to render Japan perfectly independent of any foreign supplies during the continuance of the war.

Into the particulars of that war we need not now enter; the successful torpedo attack on the Russian fleet as it was



Ch. Gerschel

Paris

ADMIRAL TOGO

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moored outside the harbour of Port Arthur, the disabling of three great Russian battleships in that attack, the long-continued blockade, the chasing of all the Russian cruisers off the sea, and the final triumph of the destruction of Admiral Rojestvensky's armada after its long voyage from Europe by Admiral Togo in the Straits of Tsushima on the 27th of May, 1905, are all events which must still be fresh in the minds of our readers. After the war, though on this occasion there was no huge indemnity such as was paid by China, a still greater policy of naval expansion was determined on and the appropriations for the navy which had heretofore never reached six millions sterling in any one year, and had only once even approached that amount, which in the years 1903 and 1905, the years preceding and following the Russian War, were only £2,800,000 and £2,500,000 respectively, rose to £8,200,000 in 1907, and it has since been maintained at a level considerably exceeding seven millions sterling.

Japan now possesses a fleet which in strength, homogeneity and efficiency, amply justifies her claim to be one of the great naval powers of the world, and gives her a paramount position in Far Eastern seas that in all human probability can never be seriously threatened. At its head are the great battleships, *Aki* and *Satsuma*, Dreadnoughts of over 19,000 tons, both built in Japan, and the *Kongo*, of 27,500 tons, built in England, the largest and most powerfully armed battle-cruiser in the world. The *Fuso*, of 30,000 tons, has already been launched in Japan, three sister battleships of similar tonnage and design have been contracted for, and three more battle-cruisers of the *Kongo* type, the *Hiyei*, *Kirishima*, and *Haruna*, have also been launched, all in Japan. There are eleven pre-Dreadnought battleships and a large fleet of armoured and light cruisers, comprising thirteen armoured cruisers of the first class, four of the second, and thirteen of the third class. The fleet of torpedo-destroyers numbers fifty-one, and it is

The Russian War.

Present Fleet.

supplemented by submarines, torpedo, and despatch boats. The personnel on the active list comprises over 51,000 officers and men. There is a strong naval reserve and both officers and men are of unquestionable professional skill.

The training of the junior officers of the navy was transferred in the year 1884 from Admiral Douglas's college at

Tokio to a new college founded at Yetajima on the Inland Sea, close to the town of Hiroshima, and the Tokio college is now reserved for the

instruction of both executive and engineering officers, who have attained at least the rank of lieutenant, in the higher branches of their profession. Commissions in the navy are open to all classes of the people without distinction of rank or occupation, and the candidates are selected after an open competitive examination which is annually held at certain specified educational centres in the Empire. While the navy is, therefore, theoretically an open service, at least two-thirds of all the officers of the executive branch are recruited from the sons of nobles or gentry of long descent. From the first, the sons of Samurai of the old Satsuma fief have predominated among them, and it was at one time said that the navy was the exclusive preserve of the representatives of the Satsuma clan. The increase in its dimensions has, however, rendered a larger recruiting field necessary, and the officers now come from every part of the Empire and include princes of the Imperial family, and the heads and cadets of noble families who trace their descent from ages not very much younger than that of the Imperial family. They have carried with them into the service the high traditions of honour, devotion and patriotism which they have inherited from their ancestors and nothing of which was lost by the tuition which the officers received in the early days of the navy from their English teachers who, while inculcating the preservation of their inherited qualities, taught them also that these qualities are in no degree impaired by the absence of self-assertion when among the ordinary citizens of the Empire. In this respect the Japanese naval

officer shows a marked contrast to his confrère of the army who, taught by French and German instructors, imbibed from them the military arrogance which is characteristic of continental armies.

The candidates who are successful at the competitive examination study for three years at the college at Yetajima,

Advanced
Training and
Promotion of
Officers.

after which they are appointed for eight months to training ships, and then, if they have passed all their examinations, they are transferred to commissioned ships in which, after a brief period of probation, they are appointed sub-lieutenants. The subsequent promotion, after they have attained the rank of lieutenant, which they do after two years' service as sub-lieutenants in sea-going ships and passing further searching examinations, is entirely by selection, the Japanese navy in this respect presenting a marked contrast to that of Germany, where all promotions up to the rank of post-captain are by seniority. Favouritism is guarded against, as far as is humanly possible, by the practice that all promotions have to be made by a board of officers under the presidency of the Minister of the Admiralty, in which the claims of every individual candidate are carefully examined. For the training in the higher branches of the profession at the advanced naval college in Tokio, officers have to be specially nominated by the admirals in command of the fleets in which they are serving, but there are certain voluntary courses which are open to all officers without nomination.

The men are recruited both from volunteers and by conscription, and are mainly taken, though not necessarily, from fishermen and the inhabitants of coast villages.

Service in
the Ranks.

The volunteers serve for eight years and the conscripts for four, but the men of both classes are, if of good conduct and efficient, permitted to continue their service until the age of forty years or of forty-five years if they have attained the rank of petty or warrant

officers. There is no promotion from the ranks to the commissioned grades, but a warrant officer of long service and proved ability receives an honorary commission as lieutenant on the termination of his active service.

The training of the engineer officers, who have not yet, as in our own navy, been amalgamated with the executive, is as

complete and exhaustive as that of the executive, carried out in the naval engineering
Non-Combatant branch of the college at Tokio and in the
Branches.

branch of the college at Tokio and in the workshops of the dockyards and, like the executive officers, those both of the engineering and paymasters' departments are selected by open competitive examination. The medical officers must be graduates of a medical school, and in addition pass both a competitive examination and undergo a special training in the Medical College of the navy, where they remain for one year. Having passed a further examination in naval and tropical hygiene, the surgery of wounds and other special subjects which may come within the range of their professional duties while in the navy to a greater degree than in civil practice, they are drafted to the hospitals at naval stations, and it is only when they have been fully tested there under the direct eyes of the senior officers that they receive commissions as assistant surgeons and are posted to sea-going ships. We have stated elsewhere in this volume that the Government committed medical education, in its early stages, in the Tokio University to German professors. When, however, a special Naval Medical College was founded, it was to a distinguished English surgeon that the teaching was committed. The influence of the Satsuma clan was, as we have said, all powerful in the navy. The Satsuma authorities had, before the mediatization of the fief, an English (or to be more strictly correct, we should say an Irish) doctor in their own employment, with whose services they were so well satisfied that they absolutely refused to avail themselves of the Germans, whom the Government were anxious to appoint, in the organisation of the Naval Medical College, and would have none but English

teachers. They carried their point, and this department of the navy, therefore, owes the beginning of its efficiency to the same nationality as do the executive and engineering branches.

In the preceding chapter on the Samurai it has been described how, in the earliest period of the authentic history of

**Soldiers in
Old Japan.**

Japan all citizens were soldiers, bound to take up arms and follow their Emperor or his lieutenants whenever occasion required, and how, as civilisation grew and the population increased, the services of all the people became unnecessary as soldiers and a division was made between the soldiers and the citizens, which eventuated in the formation of the class of Samurai who, from the Middle Ages down to the Restoration, conserved in themselves the sole right to act as soldiers. In the long-continued civil wars that prevailed throughout the whole of the fourteenth and fifteenth and through part of the sixteenth centuries, the depletion that was caused in their ranks by casualties on the field or from sickness necessitated recruits, whose physique and courage were worthy of it, being admitted from the other classes of the people, but with that exception, the whole class of Samurai may be said to have existed under its original conditions throughout all the centuries which passed down to the Restoration and the privilege of acting as soldiers to have been one which was only acquired by descent from fathers and ancestors who had been soldiers themselves.

Unlike the navy which, throughout all the centuries of Japan's history down to the seventeenth century, took a prominent part in the decision of questions

**The Army
in the Middle
Ages.**

which were left to the arbitrament of the sword, only on three occasions—in the last struggle of the Minamoto and Taira, in the repulse of the Mongol invaders, and in the invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi—the army may be said to have been continuously on active service. In the three struggles that have just

been mentioned as those in which the navy had a share, the army also played a very prominent part, and it played the sole part through all the long civil wars which almost continuously prevailed in Japan until the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The soldiers, therefore, had the fullest experience in the practice of their profession, and throughout it they gave ample evidence of the courage, determination and skill which their descendants have shown in the foreign wars of the present day.

Their original weapons were the bow, the sword, and the spear, and in the use of all three they became experts of the

**Military
Weapons of
the Middle
Ages.**

highest class. The feats which Japanese archers are recorded to have performed with the bow, both in the length of their range, the rapidity of their discharge, and the accuracy of their aim, are worthy of the best English bowmen that fought at Poitiers or Agincourt, while the swordsman maintains to the present day a reputation which places him among the foremost in the world, and makes him a worthy successor of ancestors who mowed down in thousands the Mongol warriors, who were invincible before all the nations of continental Asia, and the Chinese and Koreans in the sixteenth century, whose short swords, adepts though their wielders were, failed completely before the long blades of the Japanese, used with unerring skill. In thrusting the Japanese swordsmen fail. The thrust is not taught in their fencing school, but there is nothing in the swordsmanship of the world more terrible than the long sweeping cut which they are taught to deliver with lightning-like rapidity. The spear was a later innovation, adopted from China, where it was the national weapon, and just as in our own armies, spearmen were scattered among musketeers prior to the invention of the bayonet, in order to repel cavalry, so the spearmen were scattered among the Japanese swordsmen for the same object.

Cavalry never played a prominent part in early Japanese



HIDEYOSHI'S CASTLE AT OSAKA



wars. The physical formation of the country renders it unsuitable for cavalry movements on a large scale, the national breed of horses is inferior in all the qualities

Cavalry. that constitute a charger, and we read therefore of very few occasions on which cavalry took a large share in either wars or battles, though individual feats of horsemanship on the part of generals and officers are, on the other hand, as frequently told of as great cavalry charges are the reverse. At the battle of Ichi no Tani, fought between the Taira and Minamoto in 1183, Yoshitsune, the commander of the Minamoto, led three thousand horsemen down a precipice, some hundred feet in height, and by the attack which they were thus enabled to make on the rear of the Taira camp, "charging knee to knee and helmet to helmet," they decided the fate of the day. There are other instances in which we are told of individual knights keeping whole bodies of swordsmen at bay with arrows shot from horseback, of long rides performed at racing speed in order to reach in good time the field of an imminent battle, but generally the horse may be said to be conspicuous by its absence from all the early battlefields of Japan, while the death-blow to any possibility of horsemanship becoming a national accomplishment was given by one of the early sumptuary edicts of the Tokugawas, by which the privilege of horse-riding was strictly limited to the Samurai class.

Armour was worn by soldiers down to the Restoration. It was made of iron and leather, its parts fastened with silken cords, and the highest efforts of damascening

Armour. artists were given to its decoration. The helmet, which covered both head and face, was designed to render the appearance of the wearer as forbidding and awe-inspiring as possible, and it bore on its front the crest of the wearer or of the feudal lord whom he served. Banners and drums, some of the latter of great size, were conspicuous features in every army, and another implement, which will appear somewhat strange in the eyes of

Europeans, was the fan which was used for signalling purposes by commanding officers and, like armour, continued to be so used down to the wars of the Restoration. When, in the sixties of the last century, the soldiers of the last of the Tokugawa Shoguns were giving way before the onslaught of the Choshiu troops, their general rushed to the front and there held up the historic Tokugawa military fan of iron ribs and red silk covering, blazoned with the Tokugawa crest, thinking that its mere sight would strike terror into the hearts of his foes. Its day, however, was gone, and the Choshiu troops continued their advance, and drove the Tokugawas before them in rout.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Japanese learned for the first time the use of firearms. The first Portuguese

**Introduction
of Firearms.**

who landed on their shores, in gratitude for the kind treatment which they received, presented three arquebuses to the chief official of the island of Tanegashima, and taught both their use and also how to make gunpowder. Before a year had passed from the receipt of the presents more than three thousand imitations of them had been made in Japan, and from that time firearms became the chief offensive weapon and contributed largely to the victories of Hideyoshi throughout his campaigns in Korea, the Koreans having only their old bows and arrows to oppose to the muskets of the Japanese invaders.

From the establishment of the Tokugawas in power at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Japan enjoyed abso-

**Soldiers under
the Tokugawas.**

lutely unbroken peace until the middle of the nineteenth century, and while the Samurai still assiduously practised the art of fencing and were as ready to die for their feudal lords as they had ever been in early days, military study and training fell into such neglect that, when the nation was suddenly awakened from its peaceful slumbers by the arrival of the American fleet in the Bay of Yedo, it had to be recognised that the national military impotency rendered it hopeless to attempt to resist

the American demands by force. Then, too late to admit of the nation adhering to its old policy of seclusion, an attempt was made to reform the military system both by the central Government of the Shogun and by the semi-independent local governments of some of the greatest feudatories, especially those of Choshu and Satsuma. In Choshu, the troops discarded their old armour, and were trained and drilled according to European principles, learned not from foreign instructors but from books. Armed with modern rifles and bayonets and lightly equipped, they were able to laugh at the Tokugawa fan, and to drive before them the soldiers of the Shogun, still encumbered with their armour which, however effective against an old matchlock, was useless to save them from a rifle bullet. But the disorganisation of the whole country, when the Shogun's Government was tottering to its fall and the new Government of the Emperor had not yet risen to power, prevented any effective reform on a national scale. The Shogun, as he had obtained the assistance of English officers to help him in the creation of a navy, after his defeat by Choshu, obtained also that of French officers to drill his army; but it was too late, and the only result of it was to contribute some officers, with the rudiments of a modern scientific knowledge of their profession, to Enomoto's force at Hakodate.

When the Emperor's Government was established at Tokio it found itself entirely dependent for soldiers on contributions

**First Steps
after the
Restoration.**

from the fighting men of the great fiefs which had placed it in power. From the first, it set itself to the task of establishing a national army which would make it independent of feudal assistance. Two soldiers, who had played great parts in the civil war that was just ended, Yamagata of Choshu, now Prince Yamagata and a field-marshal of the Imperial army, and Saigo of Satsuma, who afterwards became Count Saigo, were sent to Europe to make a thorough study of foreign military systems, and on their return the first step towards

a national army was taken by the formation of the Imperial guards at Tokio, who were recruited from the Samurai, not of one but of many clans, so that their local influences might soon become subordinate to national. Local garrisons recruited in the same way were also established at some of the principal towns. A more drastic step was, however, necessary. The Samurais' time-honoured and exclusive privilege had to be abolished, and the duty imposed on the entire male population to fit themselves for taking part in the military service of their country. The step was revolutionary in the extreme: it debarred the Samurai of their most highly treasured prerogative and it called upon the other citizens who, throughout the centuries of feudal oppression, had sunk into a position which was little better than that of abject serfs, to take their places as fighting men, shoulder to shoulder, with Samurai in the ranks. The die was however cast, and when the time came the judgment of the Government was amply vindicated by its results. In 1872 a national system of conscription was adopted under which every male on attaining the age of twenty years, without distinction of rank or class, noble, Samurai and the humble commoner alike, was called upon to undergo a complete military training, to serve three years with the colours, two years with the first reserve, two more years with the second reserve, and then to continue enrolled in the national guard, which is only called to the colours in the event of an invasion of the country, till he attained the age of forty years. A large number of French officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, some of whom rose afterwards to the highest military rank in their own country, were engaged as teachers, a military academy was founded at Tokio, and the teaching of the officers and the drilling of the men were soon in full swing.

Conscription was universal, but only a tithe of those who were liable were actually called upon to serve, it being impossible at first to make provision for the training of the large number that were available. Only those who passed a rigid

medical examination, and whose physical fitness was otherwise perfect, were chosen, and even among these a selection had to be made by lot. The difficulties which

Conscription. would be attendant on the inauguration of a national system of conscription in Great Britain were entirely wanting in Japan, where every individual unit of the Empire is, and has always been, registered in the local government office of the district in which he has his recognised home, and the whereabouts and age of every individual can be at once ascertained. The Government at first organised an army of thirty-one thousand men, capable of being increased in war time to forty-six thousand, principally composed of infantry, but with a complement of cavalry, artillery and engineers, and before the Satsuma rebellion occurred in 1877, they had a thoroughly well-trained and well-equipped force of these dimensions. In the rebellion, which tested the courage and endurance of the soldiers both in hard-fought battles and in long and arduous marches in a mountainous country, it was clearly shown that the conscripts, mainly composed of commoners, but drilled and armed according to the principles of the most modern military science, were more than a match for the most formidable Samurai, fighting according to their old methods, even though they too were armed with rifles of precision, and thenceforward no fear was entertained that Japan would be unable to create a national army worthy of all the best military traditions which had deservedly appertained to her when military service was the exclusive privilege of a limited class.

Various changes were soon after made in the organisation of the army. The War Office was divided into three departments. The first was charged with the
Military Reforms. general administration of all military affairs, the control of the various branches of the executive department of the army such as military sanitation, the supply of horses, fortification, clothing, medical schools, ordnance and armaments ; the second was the general staff,

which attends to the plans both for national defence and campaigns abroad ; and the third was vested with the control of the military finances. The conscription laws were revised. The whole term of service was extended from seven to twelve years, exclusive of that in the national guard, the first three of which were to be with the colours. The various military academies, which had sprung from that originally founded by the French military mission, and had developed into highly specialised schools of gunnery, medical and veterinary science, tactics, telegraphy, etc., were largely increased so as to be able to provide for the growing number of officers who were required as the army increased in strength. Officers had throughout all these years been regularly sent abroad to study military science in Europe, and by 1882 so many had returned thoroughly qualified in all their duties that it was found possible from that year to dispense entirely with foreign instructors, and thenceforward the only studies that were made under foreign instruction were in Europe.

To this statement one exception has to be made. Just as in the Navy, when the officers had become thoroughly qualified in their executive duties, an English admiral was engaged to give instruction in the higher scientific branches of the profession, so when those of the army had learnt all that could be taught to them by Europeans in regard to, what we may call, regimental duties, the services of a distinguished German officer were invoked to teach the higher principles of strategy and tactics, and from this time the Japanese, who had hitherto drunk only from the French fount of military wisdom, sought their further instruction in Germany, and modelled all the details of their military system, even their uniforms, upon those of Germany. The German officer just referred to remained three years in Tokio, and since the termination of his services the Japanese army has been entirely independent of foreign help.

In 1894 war broke out with China, and the organisation,

over which so much labour and money had been expended, was tested in an over-seas campaign against a foreign enemy which was supposed to be a formidable military power. The unit of the Japanese army is not the army corps but the division.

War with
China.

There were at the outbreak of the war seven divisions, each division of the field army, with the exception of the Imperial Guards which consisted of only eight battalions of infantry with a complement of cavalry, artillery, etc., consisting of twelve battalions of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and two of mounted artillery, which, together with engineers and commissariat, made a total of 18,492 men with 5,633 horses. The army with the colours when fully mobilised numbered, in all, over 128,000 men. When the garrison, whose *metier* was the defence of fortresses and the guarding of the lines of communication, and the reserve troops were added, the whole strength of the mobilised forces was 220,000 men, with 47,000 horses and 294 field guns. The whole of this force, together with 100,000 coolies, was engaged in the war.

When it was over, a large increase was made both in the strength of the army and the general military expenditure.

Improvements
after the
China War.

Six new divisions were created, making thirteen in all, the artillery and cavalry were largely increased and provided with better horses and quick-firing guns, and improvement effected generally in all the details of every unit and department. The Boxer Campaign of 1900 gave further lessons in active service, and enabled the Japanese for the first time to compare themselves with European soldiers, not to their dissatisfaction, and when the great test came, to which all had looked forward during ten years as inevitable, and war broke out with Russia in 1904, Japan had an army of 180,000 men with the colours, a first reserve of 200,000, and a second reserve of 470,000 men. In the year 1904, 269,000, and in the year 1905, 311,000 new recruits were enrolled, and during the war over a million men were mobilised.

Since the war, the conscription law has been altered and the original period of three years' service has been reduced to two. The period of service in the first

**Large Increase
since the
Russian War.**

reserve has, on the other hand, been extended from five to ten years, so that, while it has become possible to call up a much larger number of conscripts physically qualified for service than formerly, a still greater increase has taken place in the numbers of the first reserve which now amount to 500,000, as compared with 200,000 before the war. Six new divisions have been added, making nineteen in all, and a greater proportionate increase made in the cavalry, artillery and engineers attached to each division, than in the infantry. Improvements have been made in arms, equipment, horses and in everything that tends to efficiency, and formidable as the Japanese army showed itself in the Russian War, it is estimated that its fighting strength is double what it then was, while it is further estimated that before twelve more years have elapsed Japan will be in a position, should occasion require it, to put into the field 1,500,000 men, all fully trained and that even these huge figures may be further amplified, if any great crisis threatens to demand it, by increasing the annual number of conscripts who are called to the colours. This force is exclusive of the men who, though physically qualified, have never served with the colours but have undergone a short period of training, which is sufficient to qualify them for garrison duties. From this source nearly another million men will, when the organisation has had a further ten years' life, be available for the defence of the country in the case of invasion in addition to the fully trained regular army. With a fighting force of two and a half million men to defend her shores against invasion, Japan may feel assured of her own safety even if her navy is swept off the seas.

We should not conclude without a word as to the manner in which the military spirit has been fostered in all the elementary and secondary schools of the Empire. Military drill is



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GENERALS OYAMA AND NOGI

obligatory in every school, and it is not only on the parade or playground that it is carried out. Whole schools perform

**Training of
Schoolboys.**

long marches of several days' duration in the country, each boy carrying his knapsack and other requisites, the elders carbines and the younger, not strong enough to use a carbine but healthy enough and with sufficient courage and endurance to accomplish a march, carrying wooden dummies, with which they proudly and zealously go through the rifle drill along with their elders. These boys are already soldiers when the time comes for them to join the ranks, not only having mastered all the elements of their drill, but having acquired some knowledge of the principles of campaigning. What in England we are now laboriously trying to effect in a small way, through Boy Scouts and Church Lads Brigades, with only a handful of the boyhood of the nation, the Japanese have been doing not only well and successfully, but universally, for more than twenty years. No one who has ever made a summer trip among the hills adjacent to any large town in Japan can have failed to meet, once at least, an entire school on the march, and whoever has done so, cannot but have been impressed by the bearing of every boy in it, and the pride with which all step out to the music of their trumpets. Conscription and drill from early youth have given Japan an army which makes her impregnable. They have also immensely improved the national physique, and have been prominent factors in changing the crouching, timorous serf of forty years ago into a dauntless soldier and a self-respecting citizen. What would they not do with the English loafer of the tavern and the football field ?

NOTE.—The occurrence of a naval scandal in Japan early in the present year (1914)—some naval officers of high rank having been convicted of accepting bribes from German contractors—has not modified the author's opinion, expressed on page 234, of the high standard of honour that prevails among the officers of the Japanese Navy.

CHAPTER XIV

COMMUNICATIONS—RAILWAYS, MERCHANT SHIPPING AND POSTS

JAPAN may now be said to be nearly covered by a complete system of railways, and there is no large city which cannot

**Present
Railway
Facilities.**

be reached and few pleasure resorts which cannot be closely approached by rail. The glories of Nikko, the fairy sea of Matsushima, the sacred isle of Miyajima, the eight views of Biwa, the bases of Mounts Fuji and Asama, and the Ladder of Heaven, are all almost at the very doors of railway stations, and the lakes of Hakone and Chiusenji are but a few miles off, while the traveller may pass from the extreme north of Hokkaido to the extreme south of Kiushiu without once leaving the precincts of a station except to pass over the Straits of Tsugaru and Shimonoseki. Many of the beauties of the Inland Sea, many of the hardly less entrancing views of the coasts of Kiushiu, can be seen from the windows of the trains that skirt their shores, and much of the fine mountain scenery of central Japan can be enjoyed in the same easy way, though the comforts of drawing-room, restaurant and sleeping-cars are as yet available, if at all, only on one or two sections of the great trunk line. The pleasure of travelling is not diminished by the fact that fares are on a much lower scale than in England, that for the first class averaging roughly about 1½d. per mile. Luggage has to be paid for as on continental lines in Europe, and the same check system is employed. The great trunk line may be regarded as the backbone of the system. It runs firstly through the centre of Hokkaido, but in Nippon and Kiushiu it clings more or less closely to the coasts, throwing out, in its progress, branches, some of considerable length, that lead by routes of varying circuitousness to the opposite coasts of both islands. The trains are run with fair punctuality and with admirable safety. Accidents have been few

and far between, and there has been no instance of the catastrophes that blot railway history in Europe and the United States.

The inception of railway enterprise was due to British enterprise and capital. The suggestion was at first repugnant to the conservative Japanese mind. The

**Early
Opposition to
Railways.**

Shogun's Government before its fall absolutely refused to discuss it, and the new Government of the Emperor was at first hardly less antagonistic. The people travelled but little in feudal days. Each feudatory made it his object to keep his people within his own dominions, and there was neither trade nor social intercourse between the people of even closely adjoining fiefs. There were great high-roads throughout all the Empire all leading to the Shogun's capital—the most noted being the Tokaido, the Road of the Eastern Sea—but the main object of their existence was to provide a highway for the territorial princes and their attendant retainers on their annual journeys to and from the capital. They were not for the people except in their own native districts. At intervals along them barriers were erected which filled not the purpose of the old English turnpikes but that of exercising a strict supervision over those who passed them. No one could do so without a passport, which was strictly examined. Towns and villages off the high roads were separated by the natural barriers of steep mountains and unbridged rivers which constituted physical obstacles hardly less formidable than those imposed by the artificial barriers. Travelling had to be done on foot, on pack-horses, or in basket chairs that were the acme of discomfort. Nobles had their stately palanquins, gorgeous without in gold lacquer and within with silken cushions and hangings, but they were only for the mighty of the land. Commoners were not even permitted to ride on horseback otherwise than on the pack-horse. All its difficulties combined to render travelling unattractive and the new Government in its earliest days had no wish to change

national habits of centuries' growth. The internal transport of goods or merchandise was almost as limited as the travelling of the people and, in fact, the national isolation with which Japan guarded herself from the outward world was imitated to a great degree in the way in which every feudal principality secluded itself from its neighbours. Ocean freights from England were, at the Restoration, incomparably higher than they are at the present, but it then cost more to send a ton of goods fifty miles into the interior of Japan from the port of landing than it did to convey it to the port from England over 12,000 miles of sea.

Great Britain was at the time represented in Japan by Sir Harry Parkes, one of the greatest ministers who have served her in the Far East through all her history, one of the ablest public servants who has ever served her in any capacity. He was eighteen years in Japan throughout the most eventful period of her history, coming there after a long experience in China, with a thorough knowledge of Oriental character, and of the civilisation, statecraft, and philosophy of China, which were the foundations of those of Japan. He was a man of irresistible energy and masterful determination, and throughout his career in Japan, he exercised a strong influence on the Government—an influence which was sometimes employed rather with the sternness of a schoolmaster dealing with obstinate though promising pupils than with the gentle courtesy and deprecating justification that are usual in diplomacy. It is not an exaggeration to say that there was not one single step taken by the Japanese in the paths of reform and progress which was not at first suggested to them by him, and that the debt of gratitude which the Japanese owe him for their present national conditions is not very much less than what they do to their own most distinguished statesmen of the era of reform, Kido, Okubo and Ito. We are now about to tell about the share which he took in the promotion of railways, but that is only

**Influence
of the British
Minister
in Promoting
Reform.**



JIZO—A BUDDHIST DIVINITY—ON LAKE HAKONE

one of the many elements of progress which he initiated. Prison reform, the separation of the executive and judicial functions, the lighting of the dangerous coasts, the creation both of a navy and a mercantile marine, post and telegraph services, the teaching of medical and engineering science, the establishment of a national mint, the abolition of the privileges of the Samurai, the emancipation of the people from conditions which were little better than those of serfdom, the prevention of two of the most deadly scourges that afflict humanity from which the Japanese suffered to a degree which was almost appalling—in all these the first suggestions were made by Sir Harry Parkes, and it was under his stimulating guidance that the first hesitating steps were taken in adopting them. The present writer tells this from his own personal knowledge, not from any hearsay or reading. Few Japanese of the present day know that it was so. Those whom Sir Harry Parkes advised and encouraged in the first years of Meiji are, like him, all gone "to their long sleep." Even the venerable Marquis Inouye, almost the last survivor of the elder statesmen, was in those days only a subordinate minister, and he knew only half of what his seniors heard and learnt from their great teacher.

In 1869 there was a complete failure of the harvests in Japan. Had she been still in the days of her isolation, it would have been followed by a famine as severe as those of which she had such frequent and bitter experience even in the days that were not very long past. Now rice was simply poured into the country from Siam, and sold at the ports of landing at a cheaper rate than the Japanese could ever have bought their own product even in the years of their most abundant harvests. But its transport to the interior doubled its price. Sir Harry Parkes seized the occasion and showed what would have been the case had there been a railway system. An English capitalist came on the scene and a loan of a million sterling was soon arranged, Japan making her

**Beginning of
Railway
Enterprise.**

first appearance as a borrower on the London money market. It is interesting to compare the terms of the loan of this paltry sum with those under which Japan, even in time of war, has since been able to obtain all the money she required. She has only had to ask to get it on her own note of hand at 4 or, at most, at 5 per cent. Then she had to promise to pay 12 per cent., to pledge her customs receipts as security, to ear-mark the loan for railway construction, and to guarantee redemption within a brief period by annual instalments.

The first railway constructed was that, eighteen miles in length, between Yokohama and Tokio. It was completed within two years, and its opening by the Emperor was celebrated with great state, among the ceremonies being one that was full

Completion of First Railway. of significance to the whole nation as a practical indication that a new era of democracy had dawned. Traders had hitherto been the most despised class of the people, following an occupation which placed them lower in a social scale than agriculturists and artisans, that was regarded by the proud Samurai as the depths of degradation. The Emperor, on this occasion, showed to his people his will that this should no longer be so by receiving addresses from deputations of Tokio and Yokohama traders, the first of their calling who had ever been admitted to the presence of the descendant of the Gods of Heaven. Two years later, the Kobe and Osaka Railway was opened, and again in another two years that between Osaka and Kioto, the last linking two cities that were as opposite as the poles in all their history and characteristics. Osaka was the great commercial city of the Empire, its Sheffield and Birmingham, the home of trade and manufacturing industry. Kioto was the ancient capital, sacred as the home of the Emperors and their court for a thousand years, both Windsor and Canterbury in itself.

In 1881 another section from Kioto to Otsu, a town on the southern end of Lake Biwa, was opened and its opening may be said to have completed the first step of railway development

in Japan. The advance which the Japanese had by this time made in railway construction can be shown by a few very brief particulars. At the beginning they

**Cost of First
Railways.**

were, of course, entirely ignorant of every detail and for the construction and management of the Tokio-Yokohama Railway they had to depend entirely on English employees ; they had not only scientific engineers to plan and superintend the construction, but English platelayers, railway carpenters and even navvies, to direct their workmen. The line had no engineering difficulties whatsoever to overcome. It passed through very flat country, where no heavy gradients were required, and there was only one large bridge throughout its length, and yet an engineer was necessary to superintend every three or four miles of the line. All the material had to be imported, with the exception of the wood, and the whole cost of the construction averaged over £34,000 per mile. The Kobe and Osaka section had to overcome engineering difficulties which were wholly wanting in the first. It had to pass three rivers whose beds were higher than the surrounding country, and these obstacles had therefore to be surmounted, not in the usual way by carrying bridges over them but by constructing tunnels beneath them at very great expense. Other rivers were crossed by ordinary bridges, and all these added immensely to the outlay that was incurred, but the highly-paid European employees were fewer, and the cost per mile was somewhat less than that of the Tokio-Yokohama Railway.

The Osaka and Kioto line had no tunnels, but required five large, besides many smaller, bridges, culverts and flood open-

**Decrease in
Cost of
Construction.**

ings, and generally the work was of an extremely heavy nature owing to the liability of the surrounding well-watered country to heavy floods. Notwithstanding this, the cost of construction was now reduced to £20,875 per mile. These three lines were all planned and completed by English engineers, but when the time for the construction of the

Kioto-Otsu line arrived, the Japanese had acquired sufficient skill and experience to enable foreign superintendence to be entirely dispensed with, and consulting engineers only were employed in making the plans for the bridges and railways. The consequence was that, including a bridge 727 yards in length, and gradients that in some instances were one in forty, the total cost of construction fell to little over £14,000 per mile, far less than half that which had been entailed in the construction of the simple line from Tokio to Yokohama ten years before. It also marked a stage in the financial aspect. In this year, for the first time, a profit was shown in the balance sheets of the railway department. The people had taken with avidity, under their new conditions of life, freed as they now were from their old feudal restrictions, to the facilities that were provided to them for travelling. In 1873, the first complete year of railway operation, the number of passengers carried on the eighteen miles that were open was less than one and a half million. In 1881, when the total length of the railway in operation was 76 miles, the passengers numbered nearly five and a half million.

Hitherto railway construction had been entirely a government enterprise ; now the public had learnt the profits that were to be made from railways, and had realised the great reduction that had been attained in the cost of their construction. The first and largest private railway company, the Nippon Railway Company, was then organised with a capital of 20,000,000 yen for the construction of a railway through the centre of Japan which would ultimately extend from Awomori in the north to Kioto ; but even in this case the money was only subscribed after the profits had been guaranteed by the Government and the construction undertaken by the Government engineers. From this time private and Government enterprise went together hand in hand, and by the year 1890 there were more than a thousand miles of railways in operation, 450 of which belonged to private companies.

**Beginning of
Private
Railways.**

It is not necessary to trace in detail the further increase that has taken place during the years that have since elapsed, which has brought the aggregate mileage of railways to the length of over seven thousand miles, and only one other fact in their history need be noticed. In the year 1906 a railway nationalisation law was passed by the Imperial Diet under which all the railways, with the exception of some small strictly local lines, became the property of the state, the payment being made in bonds, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent., to the amount of £49,000,000 sterling. In the year 1912 186,000,000 passengers and 36,000,000 tons of freight were carried, and the total receipts from the traffic approached eleven million sterling; the working expenses were £5,017,000 and the net working profit £5,899,000. The estimated receipts of the Railway Department for the financial year 1913-14 were £11,549,000, and the expenses, including £3,760,000, as interest on the public loans for the purchased private railways, were £9,960,000, thus showing a net revenue of £1,589,000 from the railway property of the state. All management and construction of new works, the building of railway carriages and the building to a large extent of locomotives are now entirely in the hands of Japanese. Foreign skilled assistance has been long since altogether dispensed with, and Japanese railway enterprise and constructive skill have been carried both to Korea and to Manchuria. In their management, economic frugality has always been studied, and while expense has never been spared in procuring the best materials and workmanship for the construction and maintenance of the line, accessories such as stations and sheds and out-buildings in general have always been built in the simplest and least expensive form. One triumph is still longingly contemplated by the ambitious engineers, the bridging of the Straits of Shimonoseki, an achievement which would surpass that of the Forth Bridge, but its difficulties and

Present
Condition of
Railway
Service.

cost cause it to still remain only a subject of hope for the future.

The Japanese in the Middle Ages were both skilful and adventurous sailors. As pirates they scoured the coasts of China and Korea with ruthless cruelty and greed during more than three centuries. As honest merchants they made their way to Siam and even crossed the Pacific to Mexico. As colonisers they occupied Formosa. Their naval operations have been mentioned in the chapter on the navy. Throughout all their history, from earliest days down to the seventeenth century, they were never wanting in ships sufficiently large to cross the stormy seas that surrounded their islands. All their enterprise was crushed by one succinct law promulgated by Iyemitsu, the third of the Tokugawa Shoguns, on the 5th of August, 1635—

Sailors in the Middle Ages.
“No vessels of over 500 koku (50 tons) burden are to be built.”

This law was ancillary to another which had been previously promulgated, forbidding Europeans to land in Japan or Japanese to leave their own country, in either case on pain of death. Efficient steps could easily be taken to guard against the infraction of this law by Europeans. It was not so easy for a country, whose coasts had harbours and outlying islands in every part, to prevent its own subjects from secretly going abroad if their spirit of adventure or other reasons prompted them, provided they had the vessels in which to sail, and the only effective measure that could be taken to prevent them was to deprive them of the ships. To venture on the storm-swept Eastern seas in a frail barque no more than 50 tons of the present day measurement would have been to court certain disaster.

From that day maritime enterprise was dead in Japan, and sailors were confined entirely to their own coasts. They lost their ocean skill ; even their coasting voyages were made only

between ports that were but little distances apart and then only in fine weather and with favouring winds, and it was their invariable custom to anchor when night fell.

**Death of
Maritime
Enterprise.**

They had made no progress in shipbuilding, their ships, small as they were, showed no improvement whatsoever in design, in the middle of the nineteenth century, from what they had been at the early part of the seventeenth century. The advent of Perry's squadron in 1853 first opened the eyes of the Government to what other countries had achieved and the sight of his great steam frigates taught them their own backwardness. The lesson was intensified when, five years later, Japan was opened to foreign trade and her ports quickly became crowded with merchant steamers and sailing ships that were little, if at all, inferior in tonnage or in their imposing appearance, to Perry's frigates. Then the old law which had existed for 220 years was repealed, and quickly following on the repeal, a rush was made to purchase both steamers and sailing ships of foreign build which, it was believed, would become a source of immense profits. Japan became the market for all the discarded and obsolete ships that had previously sailed under the British and North German flags.

The purchasers were not merchants, but the officials of the various semi-independent fiefs, who knew nothing either of the proper value of the ships, of their business

**First Essays in
Shipping
Business.**

management after they had been acquired, or of their working at sea. They had traditions in the fiefs of the great profits that had been made by their ancestors in the days of the Portuguese traders, and they thought that they would now earn, either in foreign or even in coasting trade, profits that would rival those of their ancestors. The bargains which they made were often woeful; they paid the prices of the best and newest ships for the worst and oldest, and frequently the price was paid, not in cash but in produce, which the seller took at his own valuation, and there were cases in which the payment

was made in part on these terms and interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per month was added to the balance so long as it was unpaid. The management of the foreign sails was totally new to them, and as for the engine department, all that the most skilful of their engineers knew was that by turning a handle in one direction the ship went ahead, and that by turning it in another she went astern. There was one instance in which, when a newly acquired steamer was started by her new owners, they were ignorant of how to stop her, and after cruising for some hours round and round the harbour, to the bewilderment of the European sailors, who watched her erratic movements from their own ships, she was only brought to a stand by being run upon a mud bank.

It was not till the early seventies of the nineteenth century that a practical knowledge of the details of the shipping business in its different features began to be

**Formation of
First Shipping
Companies.**

acquired, and the first impetus was given to its development on a substantial scale by the formation of what was known as the Mitsui Bishi Company, or the "Company of the Three Diamonds," which was formed by merchants from the province of Tosa, at the head of whom was a gentleman, both of courageous enterprise and great business capacity, whose name was Iwasaki, whose son is now a peer and not only the wealthiest man in Japan but the promoter and owner of banks, coal-mines, and dockyards, all of which play a very prominent part in the industrial life of the country. The name of the Three Diamonds owes its origin to the same reason as that which gives its name to the White Star Company of Great Britain. Its distinguishing flag bore a device of three red diamonds conjoined in the centre on a white ground, the diamond-shaped figures being, however, said to represent not diamonds but the seeds of a water-plant called Hishi, euphonised in combination with another word into Bishi, which is common in the province of Tosa. Even this company formed its first fleet by the acquisition of old Peninsular and Oriental boats,

but its promoters had the good sense to engage competent European advisers, and both the purchase and management of its ships were conducted on sound economic terms. In 1874, when the Japanese military expedition to the island of Formosa was undertaken, all the ships of the company were chartered at high rates as transports, and after that its financial success was amply secured.

The coasting service between the open ports of Japan and also the service between Japan and Shanghai had up till then been conducted by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company of the United States. In 1875 the Mitsu Bishi Company purchased the whole of the local fleet of the American company, and from that time it began to acquire for Japan the control which she now has to the fullest extent not only of her own coasting trade but of the trade with Shanghai, with the northern ports of China, with Korea and with Vladivostock. The Mitsu Bishi Company continued its career until 1885, and then combined with another younger company and formed what still exists as the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, the Japan Mail Steamship Company, which, fostered by liberal subventions, steadily increased both in wealth and tonnage. As the first impetus was given to the financial success of the company by the Formosan expedition, so was the second by the China and Japan War of 1894. Once more the whole of its fleet was chartered at high rates, and once more the Government money flowed into its coffers.

It had already before the war been tempted by the large import of raw cotton from India to Japan to extend its services to Bombay, and after the war, it was not long before its flag began to be displayed in the ports of Australia, England and the Pacific ports of the United States, while the indemnity which Japan obtained from China justified the Government in issuing the Navigation Encouragement Law of 1896, under which heavy subsidies were granted to the Japanese owners of ships,

Acquisition of
Coasting and
Shanghai Trade.

Shipping
Subsidies.

built of iron or steel, with a gross tonnage of not less than 1,000 tons, and a maximum speed of not less than 10 knots, engaging in freight and passenger traffic between Japan and foreign countries, the subsidies being calculated according both to the tonnage of the ships and the distance run by them. Simultaneously with the Navigation Encouragement Law, another was passed for the encouragement of shipbuilding. By this time the Japanese had acquired considerable experience in the building both of steam and sailing ships on European lines, but their efforts had been confined to vessels of moderate capacity, and all exceeding 1,000 tons were still purchased from abroad. The new law provided for the payment of liberal bounties for the construction in Japan by Japanese shipbuilding companies of iron or steel vessels of not less than 700 tons capacity, and the bounties increased in almost geometrical progression according to the tonnage and horse-power of the steamship.

The Navigation Law was repealed by the Ocean Service Subvention Law promulgated in 1909, which made new

Ocean Service
Subvention
Law.

and more liberal provision for the subsidising of ships employed on the ocean lines to Europe, the United States, South America, and Australia, but at the same time demanded a greater degree of efficiency on the part of the subsidised ships. They were now required to be of a capacity of not less than 3,000 tons, to have a speed of 12 knots, not to be more than fifteen years old, and to run regularly for five years. The two first laws met with considerable opposition in the country, where it was thought that the Government was devoting to the enrichment of a limited class the national funds, which might be better applied to the relief of the greatly increased taxation that Japan's new position among the nations of the world after the China War necessitated, but the wisdom of the Government was amply proved by the results. In 1903, seven years after the passing of the first law, the tonnage of Japan's fleet of merchant steamers was

four times what it had been at the outbreak of the China War, and at the end of 1912 the registered tonnage of steamers under the Japanese flag amounted to 1,442,000 tons, and when that of sailing vessels is added, the whole exceeded two million tons. Many of the largest of the steamers were built in Japan, though a considerable part of the material used in their construction had still to be obtained from Europe. Dockyards have also increased in number and in capacity, and merchant steamers of between five and ten thousand tons have been built in them which are in every respect fully equal to the best output of the best-known dockyards in Europe.

The Nippon Yusen Kaisha, with its great fleet of ninety-four steamships, with an aggregate tonnage of 450,000 tons,

**Nippon
Yusen Kaisha.**

still easily holds its premier place among the shipping companies of Japan, and is one of the foremost shipping companies in the world. It maintains regular services between Japan and England and Antwerp, and its position in the carrying trade between Europe and the Far East is now such that it dictates the freights charged by all lines, many and wealthy as they are, whether under the British or German flags, plying on the same route. It also maintains regular services between Japan and the Pacific ports of the United States, Australia and Bombay, as well as local services on the coasts of Japan, China, Asiatic Russia and Korea. Its passenger trade is admirably managed, and both in its cabin accommodation and in its table it is fully equal to the very best of European ocean lines.

The Nippon Yusen Kaisha has a capital of £2,200,000 and a reserve fund of £3,141,000. There are four other companies, each with capital of not less than

**Other Shipping
Companies.**

one million yen (£100,000), and altogether there are eighteen registered joint-stock companies regularly engaged in the shipping business, and a large number of individual owners. The three next in importance to the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, of those exclusively

engaged in shipping, are the Osaka Mercantile Steamship Company, with a fully paid capital of £1,650,000, owning 132 steamers of an aggregate tonnage of 169,986 tons; the Oriental Steamship Company, with a nominal capital of £1,300,000, of which £910,000 are paid up, owning eleven steamers of an aggregate tonnage of 71,952 tons; and the Nisshin (Japan and China) Steamship Company with a fully paid capital of £810,000, owning twenty-nine steamers of an aggregate tonnage of 27,912 tons.

The Osaka Merchant Steamship Company (Osaka Shosen Kaisha) was established in 1884, with the object of carrying on a coasting business. This was subsequently extended to Formosa, the Yangtsze ports of China, Korea and North China, including Vladivostock, and finally, the company embarked on the trans-Pacific passenger and cargo trade, under arrangements with the Chicago and St. Paul Railway Company of the United States. A regular service is now maintained with Tacoma and Seattle, in which six steamers of large tonnage, all of which were built in Japan, are employed.

The Oriental Steamship Company (Toyo Kisen Kaisha) was the first Japanese Company to engage in the trans-Pacific trade, and its steamers now run both between Japan and San Francisco, and also between Japan and Mexican and South American ports, special subsidies being granted for this service both from the Japanese and Mexican Governments. The fleet includes the largest merchant steamers that fly the Japanese flag, three sister turbine ships, each of 14,000 tons, with triple screws. The Japan and China Steamship Company (Nisshin Kisen Kaisha) carries on a profitable business on the Yangtsze.

The results of the policy of the Government and the enterprise of the shipping companies may be seen in the share that is now taken by Japanese-owned ships in the carrying trade of the Far East. When the Mitsu Bishi Company was started,

it may be safely said that not a single passenger, not a single package of cargo was carried by Japanese ships to or from Japan. In 1891 the whole value of exports and imports to Japan was 142,454,541 yen, out of which the value of those carried in Japanese ships was 14,787,818 yen. In 1900 the corresponding figures were 482,638,564 yen and 148,385,141 yen ; in 1911 they were 921,482,461 yen and 416,604,232 yen ; and in 1912 1,141,317,761 yen and 522,079,306 yen. Japan, which in 1891 had only a tenth share in the total foreign carrying trade of the country, in 1912 had nearly one-half. Whatever may have been the burden on the national finance of the subsidies under which Japan's shipping trade was fostered, they have been repaid manifold by increased national wealth as well as by the prestige which has accrued to Japan from the worthy display of her national flag in all the great maritime ports of the world.

**Japanese
Carrying
Trade.**

Prior to the Restoration, the isolation in which the people of the different fiefs lived, holding little or no intercourse of any kind with their neighbours, rendered a postal service unnecessary for the benefit of the non-official members of the community. From early days a courier service was maintained between the three great cities, Yedo (Tokio), Kioto and Osaka, by the Government and by transport companies, run as commercial undertakings, and some feudatories established similar services both within the limits of their own fiefs and with Yedo. The services were highly efficient and so organised that a letter could be conveyed by couriers on foot between Osaka and Yedo, a distance of 350 miles, in three days, and instances are recorded of this time being considerably shortened on special occasions. But the Government service was entirely for officials, whether Imperial or local, and the transport companies did not extend their operations beyond

**Postal Services
before
Restoration.**

the lines of their fixed routes. The common people, living at a distance from the high roads, had therefore little or no benefit from them and, on the rare occasions on which one of them desired to send a letter to a distance, he had to wait the opportunity and rely on the friendly services of a traveller, and, except on the high roads, travellers were few and far between.

At the close of 1870 the first attempt was made to organise a postal service on the European system. A daily mail

**First
Modern Post.**

service between Tokio and Osaka was inaugurated. Postage stamps were issued, postal offices, where they were sold and where letters were received and distributed, were opened in the principal towns along the Tokaido, the great high road between Tokio and Kioto, and between Tokio and Yokohama. The service was still conducted by couriers on foot and, as the mail matter had therefore to be light, only letters were carried. All that exceeded the regulation weight and size were excluded, while numerous formalities had to be observed in the address of the letters and the issue of formal receipts, before a letter of any kind was received in the offices. The postage was on a highly progressive scale, varying with the distance the letter was carried. Though it was slow in gaining the confidence of the people, the service was gradually extended to other parts of the Empire, and in 1874 it had become universal and it was then made a Government monopoly, private companies being thenceforward forbidden to act as letter-carriers. The scale of charges was revised, though it was not until some years later that an internal uniform scale was established irrespective of distance, and the other forms of postal business, the carrying of newspapers, parcels and post cards, were added to the original letter service.

The service was at first entirely domestic. When Europeans first came to Japan they were obliged, in the absence of a local postal system, to establish a service of their own, and just

as each country had its own court of justice, so did each, whose flag was represented on mail steamers plying to Japan, establish its own post office for the transmission of letters not only between Japan and Europe, but between the open ports of Japan and China. The postage was collected in stamps of the country and of the office, and as there were three countries, Great Britain, France, and the United States, conducting the services, there were, including the Japanese, stamps of four nationalities in general use. There were other curious anomalies. The British and French mail steamers ran only to Yokohama. The United States steamers, on the other hand, maintained a regular coasting service. A letter posted in England, though addressed to Kobe, could only be accepted for delivery in Yokohama. There it had to be handed over to the United States post office and a further charge of 2d. per half ounce had to be paid on the original postage (1s. 4d.) from England.

**European Post
in Japan.**

**Japan's Entry
into Postal
Union.**

Notwithstanding the undoubted efficiency to which the management of the Japanese service gradually attained and its own anomalies, the system that has just been described continued till 1879. In 1877 Japan acceded to the Berne Postal Convention of 1874, and within the two following years the European postage agencies ceased to exist and Japan took the entire postal administration of the country, both foreign and domestic, into her own hands. The step was an interesting one, as it was by it that Japan made her first entry as a contracting party on equal terms into the Comity of Nations, and it formed the thin end of the wedge which she was always anxious to drive into the great trunk of ex-territoriality which was casting its shadow over her national pride. In 1879 Japan took part in the Conference that was held in London to form an International Telegraph Convention, and in 1903 she joined the International Parcel Post Union. It may be remarked that Japan followed the example

of Europeans in her own case by establishing, once she had acquired the necessary skill in postal business, her own agencies at all the open ports in China, and that she continued to hold them till long after she was herself freed from what was considered to be a national slight.

In 1871, the first year of the existence of a postal service, there were throughout the whole Empire in all 179 post offices

**Early Postal
Statistics.**

and 158 letter-boxes. Postage stamps were only sold at thirty-four places, and all the regular officials numbered only 176. The total expenditure was 105,268 dollars, the receipts 59,453 dollars, and the total number of letters posted was 2,509,032, this being at the rate of one letter annually for every thirteen individuals of the whole population. There was no system of postal savings banks or money orders in existence. There were only thirty-four miles of telegraph wire in operation, twenty-nine offices were open for the receipt and despatch of telegrams, and the whole number of the latter dealt with during the year was 80,639, this being at the rate of one message annually for every 410 individuals of the population.

In 1912 there were 7,147 post offices and 60,620 letter-boxes. There were 34,198 officials, over 27,000 postmen, and 4,213 telephone operatives. The total mail matter

**Postal
Statistics in
1912.**

of all kinds dealt with was 1,689 millions, an average of thirty-one for each inhabitant, and the number of telegrams thirty-two millions, an average of sixty per 100 inhabitants. These figures do not include the postal services of Korea and Formosa. The number of domestic postal orders paid was seventeen million, their average amount being 13.29 yen (£1 7s. 1d.). The receipts from all postal, telegraph, and telephone services were estimated for the financial year 1913-14 as nearly fifty-nine million yen. In the development of the postal and telegraphic services and in the use which is made of them by her people, Japan is now well ahead of some

of the great European powers, such as Russia, Austria, and Italy. It may afford some index as to the relative importance of Japan's relations with Western Powers to state that the number of all mail articles received from the United States in 1911-12 was 2,357,576; from Great Britain, 1,209,743; from Germany, 757,847; and from France, 228,486. The aggregate received from all the countries in the world outside Japan in the same year was over nine and a half millions.

Before the introduction of telegrams, Japan had her own system of rapidly conveying messages, and so efficient was it, though its use was of necessity very limited, that it still survives and competes in some districts successfully with the telegraph.

**Telegraphic
Service.**

It was carried on by the means of flag-signalling, the messages being signalled from hill-top to hill-top, or where there were no hills, from lofty platforms, either on the roofs of houses or on towers specially erected for the purpose, and being read through telescopes by experts who were constantly on the watch for them. Its principal use was to transmit the market price of rice, which fluctuated on the Exchanges from day to day or from hour to hour, and as a measure of rice was the unit of wealth and income, the changes in its value were all-important. As Osaka was the principal rice market of the Empire, the system had its headquarters there, and there it still survives. Flag-signalling could only be used and was only required for its special object in daytime but, in order to safeguard Japan's isolation, arrangements were always complete under the Tokugawas to enable tidings of the approach of foreign vessels to any part of the shores to be communicated at once by night to the Shogun's Government at Yedo, even from so far away as Kiushiu, by fires lighted on the mountain summits. Some experiments were made in the use of telegraphy from the first advent of foreigners to Japan, but it was not till 1872 that the first line was opened to the public. Its subsequent development is illustrated in the figures that

have been already given. In this, as in many other respects, Japan has improved on her European teachers. The system of wireless telegraphy which she uses is not that of Marconi, but one that is said to be entirely independent of and superior to it, which was invented by her own naval officers.

CHAPTER XV

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

UNTIL the present generation, in which it has become a land of materialism, Japan was emphatically beyond all others the land of romance. No other country has a history of greater picturesqueness, in no other were the romantic elements of feudalism, with all its outward splendour, so long maintained, and less than fifty years have elapsed since Japan presented a social system the parallel of which can be found in England only by going back to the time of the great Kingmaker. Romance is not usually associated with trade. Japan's commercial development has been largely tinged with it, as has been every other incident in her national life.

**Romantic
Elements in
Trade.**

Just before the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Ashikaga Shoguns were tottering to their fall, and the Empire was from end to end seething in anarchy and civil war, a Chinese junk, with three Portuguese merchant-adventurers as passengers, was blown out of her course, while on a voyage from Siam to China, and found refuge in a harbour in the island of Tanegashima, in the extreme south of Kiushiu. The island, far away from the political turmoil that was raging in the central provinces, small though it was, showed sufficient signs of substantial prosperity to convince the shrewd Portuguese, ever on the look-out for new openings in their Eastern trade, that an Empire, of which this little island was only a remote and insignificant outpost, was a field full of commercial promise and well deserving of exploitation. When they returned to their own colonies, the tales they told had such effect that Portuguese ships and traders were soon eagerly making for the new market. They were not disappointed in the results of their enterprise. They were warmly

**First
Europeans
in Japan.**

welcomed in Japan. All the local feudatories throughout the whole of Kiushiu competed with each other in the inducements which they offered to the strangers to make use of the harbours in their several fiefs for the exchange of Portuguese cargoes for the products of Japan, and for fifty years the Portuguese, then the boldest sailors and the most enterprising commercial adventurers in the world, the only Europeans whose ships had yet sailed on Far Eastern seas, enjoyed what was a complete monopoly of a trade that brought with it profits exceeding the wildest dreams of avarice. For fifty years all went well. The Portuguese were the only Europeans who knew Japan or were known by the Japanese. Jesuit missionaries soon followed the traders, and it is hard to say which were the most successful, the missionaries in their proselytism or the traders in their commerce. Both had triumphs which have since been rarely equalled and never surpassed by either missionary or trader.

The Portuguese kept their secret as long as they could. Unfortunately for themselves, they took into their service as pilot a Dutchman named Linschoten, and when the Dutch shook off the domination of Spain, whose king at the time also reigned over Portugal, and heard from Linschoten of the high profits made by the Portuguese, they resolved to send one of the ships of their newly founded East India Company to Japan, and both injure their enemy and acquire great gain for themselves. The two were then the great ocean carriers of the world. The Portuguese had a monopoly of the Far Eastern trade, while the Dutch were the carriers of Europe, their ships distributing from Lisbon what the Portuguese brought there from the East. Philip II, the King of Spain and Portugal, laid an embargo on the entry of the Dutch ships into Lisbon, and their owners had, therefore, either to find new seas for their use or altogether lose their trade. Since the Portuguese would not allow them to take the Eastern produce from Lisbon, they determined to seek it at its source under

Arrival of
the Dutch.

Linschoten's pilotage, and at the dawn of the seventeenth century they made their first essay in Japan.

They found their national rivals in full possession of the field, and a long and keen struggle followed. Racial and

**Portuguese
and Dutch
Rivalry.**

religious antagonism embittered commercial rivalry, and the Dutch did not hesitate to use the most degraded treachery towards their fellow-Christians, though of a different sect, to commend themselves as traders to their new heathen customers. With the Portuguese, commercial enterprise went hand in hand with missionary propagandism and, at first, the Japanese extended as complete a toleration to the new religion as they did a welcome to the new traders. But religious toleration changed later into persecution as relentless and universal as that of Nero—the arrogant conduct of some of the missionaries, overflowing with faith and intoxicated with their own success, being to a considerable extent the cause of the change—and when the missionaries were martyred or expelled, their trading fellow-countrymen suffered along with them and were banished, and both missionaries and traders were forbidden for the future to land in Japan on peril of their lives.

The Dutch were absorbed solely in trade. The promotion of Christianity had no part in their advent to Japan. They

**Dutch Factory
at Nagasaki.**

disclaimed all sympathy with either European or native Christians, even when martyred; they avowed they were not of the same religion as the Portuguese, and even helped the Japanese with their ships and guns to exterminate the last body of native Christians who attempted to defend themselves against the persecuting Government. They had their reward. When the Portuguese were expelled and all other Europeans were forbidden to land anywhere or for any purpose in Japan, the Dutch were allowed to remain in a small factory in the harbour of Nagasaki, where, for over two hundred years, they had a profitable monopoly of Japan's trade with Europe. But their

profits were earned at the expense of the most degrading personal and national humiliation. The Japanese of olden days were brought up to esteem honour in all its aspects and to despise money for money's sake. They soon realised that the Dutch were Christians like the Portuguese, and they regarded with utter contempt a people who could betray their co-religionists for the paltry sake of commercial gain. Their contempt was manifested in the conditions under which the Dutch were permitted to live in Japan. They were kept as prisoners in their little factory under the most rigid and humiliating surveillance; forced to forswear their religion; subjected to exactions of every kind, and even the right of burial in Japanese soil was forbidden to them. It is difficult to believe at the present day that any commercial gains could have induced the citizens of a freedom-loving and courageous nation to have borne all they did for more than two centuries. What the profits of both Portuguese and Dutch must have been may be estimated from the fact that, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they carried out of Japan precious metals to a value of over one hundred millions sterling, which they had received in payment for the goods they had brought there. In the eighteenth century, the profits fell, but even then every Dutch ship showed a clear gain of more than 100 per cent. on each voyage.

While both Portuguese and Dutch were at the height of their rivalry and both reaping great profits, English adventurers also appeared upon the scene. The East India Company, founded in 1600, had begun its trade with the Indies and, encouraged by the success it had met in the Mid East, tempted by the rumours which reached its headquarters of what the Dutch and Portuguese were doing in Japan, it resolved to extend its operations to the Far East. In June, 1613, the first English ship, the *Clove*, to display the flag in the Far Eastern seas, arrived at Hirado, the island on the west coast of Kiushiu; which was then the headquarters of the Dutch, and there an

First Arrival
of English.

English factory was established alongside that of the Dutch. The English were cordially received by the Japanese. Liberal facilities and privileges were granted to them, and, had they been properly used and the venture intelligently directed, the history of Japan's foreign intercourse might have been very different. Unfortunately, its two principals on the spot, Saris, the captain of the *Clove*, and Cocks, the supercargo, who was left in charge of the factory after the *Clove* had sailed on her return journey, showed that they were deficient not only in tact and judgment but in the most commonplace business aptitudes, and almost from the first failure attended everything they did. Both the Dutch and English were in unison in hating the Portuguese, but they also hated each other as much as they did their common rivals. Their ships fought when they met on the high seas, the sailors fought with each other when they met on shore, and the heavier tonnage and guns of their ships and the superior numbers of their men on shore usually gave the victory to the Dutch. They were also far more astute traders than the English. They were in advance of them in their experience in dealing with and in their knowledge of the tastes of the Japanese buyers, and they used every artifice, legitimate or illegitimate, that trade rivalry could suggest to spoil the market for their new competitors. The English experiment proved an utter failure. It only lasted for six years and then it was abandoned, with the net result of a loss to the company that has been variously estimated at from seven to forty thousand pounds.

In 1859 Japan was opened by the Treaties concluded with foreign Powers to the trade and commerce of the world, and from that year her commercial history is one of almost unbroken progress. Nothing, however, could have been more unpromising than her first essays. The gloom of coming civil war was over the whole country. Its political and financial conditions were in equal confusion. Foreign traders who came to Japan and the Japanese traders who dealt with them

Opening of
Japan to the
World.

were alike ignorant of each other's ways and customs, and of the proper values of what each had to sell. The history of Japan's foreign trade during the first ten years of its existence is not one that reflects untarnished credit on either side, and we have now no reliable figures of its annual value. In 1870 its aggregate was estimated to be ten millions sterling, but it was not till 1872 that the customs service began to exercise an effective supervision and two more years elapsed before its statistics became worthy of real confidence. During all the early years of the Meiji period (the period of the present reign) trade had to struggle against a depreciated, irredeemable paper currency, that was liable to violent fluctuations in its exchange value from day to day, against a total want of credit, and against a low order of productive capacity on the part of the people. They had then practically no manufacturing industries beyond what were sufficient to supply their own requirements. Their exports were almost exclusively confined to agricultural products, such as raw silk, tea and rice, and the only manufactures which they could spare for export were *objets de luxe*, such as fans, porcelain and lacquer, and those only to an insignificant value.

When the internal difficulties of a depreciated domestic currency were terminated by a reversion to specie payments, external difficulties took their place. Japan was nominally a bi-metallic country, but silver had so completely become the only currency in use that it was practically monometallic, and hardly had Japan recovered her own internal financial stability ere silver started on its downward path in the money markets of the world, and new complications of international exchange arose which again seriously limited the progress both of foreign trade and domestic industry. These continued till the China-Japan War of 1894. As one of the results of that war Japan received from China an indemnity of thirty-five millions sterling. A large portion of this amount was applied to the reform of the national currency, and in 1897

Obstacles to
Trade
Expansion.



HACHOJI—CENTRE OF SILK DISTRICT



1

gold became the standard of value and replaced silver in the national coinage. The results were speedily apparent. Trade, freed from the speculative risks that had hitherto been inseparable from fluctuating rates of exchange, rapidly advanced, and manufacturing industries, able to rely on prices of uniform stability, began to give promise of the realisation of the hopes of Japanese statesmen and economists that their beloved country would in time become an important industrial factor in the commerce of the Far East.

During all the intervening years between 1872 and 1897 the Government had laboured as earnestly in the development of industrial as they had done in military and political progress. From the time when the ministers of the restored Emperor undertook the administration, they had ever kept the example of Great Britain before them. They knew of the immense manufacturing wealth and industry of Great Britain, an insular country like their own, and they found in their own country an adequate supply of coal which was, they were told, as much the foundation of Britain's success as the ingenuity, skill and industry of its people. In the people, crushed and degraded though they had been by centuries of feudal oppression, the Government had full confidence. They were quick to learn, skilful in technical work, and not only industrious but frugal, and there was nothing which they could not achieve under proper tuition and encouragement. The best energies of the Government were devoted to the provision of both. Numerous commercial schools were founded throughout the Empire and the people stimulated both by precept and exhortation, and even when the national finances were at their lowest stages, liberal subsidies were freely given to infant industries and transport facilities provided for their products by railways and shipping. Silk, both in its raw and manufactured state, works of art, all articles in the production of which nimbleness of hand and artistic taste play an important part, are, the people were told,

Government
Encouragement
of Trade.

products in which Japan has a great advantage over all other countries. They could, therefore, confidently look forward to a permanent demand for all such goods from the rich and luxurious countries of the West, and their energy should be devoted both to the improvement and the increased supply of such goods. But they were also told that at the same time they could supply to other Asiatic countries foreign articles, imitated from foreign patterns, made by foreign machinery, perhaps from foreign raw material, which had heretofore been supplied by England, Germany or the United States, more cheaply than these countries themselves. Perfection could not be attained at once in the production of these articles, but it would come in time, and then Japan's manufactures might even compete in England itself with German. Until then she could satisfy herself with the customers offered to her in the East, for the peoples of which her goods would soon be of adequate quality.

Such was the general tenor of the commercial policy of the Japanese Government throughout the eighties and nineties of the last century, and the advice given to the people by lectures, by press articles, by practical teaching incessantly pursued through all seasons in every part of the Empire. The national ambition was that Japan should become in time the workshop of the Far East, as England in the best days of her unchallenged manufacturing supremacy of the world was both of Europe and of Asia.

The results gradually became apparent. They received a great stimulus from the tide of prosperity that flowed over the whole country after the China War, and they are already such as to realise what, in the early days of Japan's modern relations with Europeans, would have been considered only the wildest dreams of extravagant ambition. It is perhaps somewhat foreign to the general scope of the present work to introduce into its text tables of figures, but some are necessary in

**Methods of the
Government.**

**Advance of
Foreign Trade.**

order to give a general view not only of the progress which Japan has already made as a commercial and financial power, but of her present position as a formidable competitor with Great Britain, Germany and the United States, in their struggle for the trade of the world. We have dealt with the development of her railway system and of her merchant shipping in a separate chapter. We shall show with the fewest possible statistics that the progress which she has made in foreign trade, in domestic industry and in finance, has been even more striking than that of her land and marine transport.

In comparing the currency figures for 1872 and subsequent years, it is to be remembered that, as already noted, the basis

**Fluctuations
of Currency.**

of Japan's coinage was, until the year 1897, silver, and that the fluctuations which took place in its value (it fell from about 5s. per ounce in 1872 to 2s. 3d. per ounce in 1897) caused a very material alteration in the sterling value of the yen, which, whether of silver or of gold, was and is the unit of Japan's coinage. In 1872, the sterling value may be taken as having been 4s. 3d., in 1882, 3s., and in 1894, it had fallen to 2s. In 1897, the gold standard was adopted and the value of the yen, which was retained as the unit, was fixed at 2s. 0½d., at which it has since remained. For facility of calculation it may be taken at 2s. whenever its equivalent is desired in sterling. The depreciation of silver must always be remembered in estimating Japan's economic progress. In the present instance it is not of much importance as we are not comparing her progress with that of European countries in the same period, and to form an estimate of her own all that is required is a common denominator, for which purpose the yen, the unit of her own coinage, irrespective of its value in sterling, furnishes the best medium. Another fact which has to be noted in estimating her import trade is that, since 1899, when a new customs tariff was adopted and import duties very largely increased, the values of the imports represent the cost of the goods as landed in Japan instead of, as in previous

years, their first cost at the place of production, the difference between the two being about 15 per cent.

In the year 1913 the aggregate value of Japan's foreign trade was yen 1,361,891,857, roughly about 138 millions sterling. Its growth from 1872, the first

Trade in 1913 compared with 1872. year in which the customs returns began to be compiled with an approach to accuracy, and also the first year in which a strict official

census of the people was taken by the new Government, will be seen by the following table—

Year.	VALUE				Population.
	Imports yen.	Exports yen.	Total yen.		
1872	26,174,814	17,026,647	43,201,461		33,110,825
1892	71,326,080	91,102,753	162,428,833		41,089,940
1895	129,260,078	136,112,178	265,372,256		42,270,620
1912	618,992,277	526,981,842	1,145,974,119		52,312,068
1913	729,431,644	632,460,213	1,361,891,857		52,985,423

These figures include the population of all the islands which originally formed the Empire, but are exclusive of Formosa, Saghalin and Japan's new continental dominions of Korea and Liaotung. Those of the foreign trade bear striking testimony of the development of industry that has taken place within less than forty years, and justify the optimistic views that are held by the Japanese as to the commercial future of their country. The year 1872 has been taken for a starting-point for the reason already given. We have then passed over two decades to arrive at the time when Japanese manufactures, as distinct from agricultural, mining and fishing products, till then the most prominent features among her exports, began to give some promise of their future. In the year 1895 the great industrial expansion occurred which followed the success of the China War and the influx of capital from the indemnity paid by China as one of the conditions of peace, and 1912 and 1913 are the last complete years. It may be questioned if any other country in the world has shown in its foreign trade such a ratio of progress in a similar period, even

Germany or the United States. The trade of Japan is now over thirty-one-fold what it was forty-one years ago. It at present represents an average value of nearly 22 yen per head of the population as compared with 1.30 yen in 1872.

The increase in the population, which is growing steadily at an annual average of half a million, has given serious

**Provision for
Increased
Population.**

thought as to the provision which will be required for its maintenance in the future, when, as is possible, if the present rate of increase is maintained, Japan may have to provide the necessities of life of a population of one hundred millions. New colonies, Formosa, Saghalin and Korea will no doubt provide for some of the increase. Foreign emigration may also contribute, but the Japanese are among the most home-sick people in the world. Their ideas of emigration are limited to a short but remunerative absence with a speedy return to their homes, and that of permanent settlement in foreign countries rarely occurs to them. Formosa and Korea are both well peopled in their most productive areas by their original inhabitants, and Saghalin is climatically forbidding to the sun-loving inhabitants of the southern isles. Japan must, therefore, look forward to the necessity of providing for the majority of her people within her own limits, and it was early recognised by her Government that that can only be done by her gradual development as a manufacturing country, by her conversion from one that has, until a very recent period, been purely agricultural into one whose chief industry will be manufacturing, and the best energies of her economic ministers and teachers are devoted to that end.

Her agricultural industries, which still occupy more than 60 per cent. of the whole population, have not been lost sight

**Agricultural
and Fishing
Industries.**

of. Model farms, agricultural schools and colleges, experimental stations scattered throughout all the country, distributions of seeds and fertilisers, improved roads and irrigation, the cultivation of waste lands, preventive measures

against the disastrous floods that are of such frequent occurrence, have all contributed to the introduction of more productive methods of farming. In the marine industries, which are the sole employment of 811,000 people and the sole sources of support, therefore, of fully four million, and which give partial employment to nearly another million, schools and the encouragement of deep-sea fishing by bounties for the construction and employment of steam trawlers, have played the same part, and the results are a substantially increased output both in agricultural and fishing products. The average annual rice crop which, in the period of nine years from 1894 to 1902, was forty million koku (one koku equals five bushels), was in the succeeding ten years forty-eight million koku. The value of the fish catch—herrings, sardines, bonito, cod, salmon, mackerel, cuttlefish, etc.,—exclusive of the manufactured products that are obtained from the raw material of the sea, has grown from fifty-two to eighty-three million yen. Rice and fish are the two main staples of daily food, but their increased production has been far from keeping pace with the increased population, and Japan resembles Great Britain in that she is yearly becoming more and more obliged to supplement from other countries her own production of the necessities and luxuries of the people. The value of the import of food-stuffs and the extent to which this trade has grown is shown in the following figures, which speak for themselves.

Year.	Rice.	Flour.	Wheat.	Sugar.	Eggs.	Condensed Milk.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1890..	12,302,884	226,157	59,102	8,410,124	31,370	177,546
1913..	48,472,304	2,134,735	12,351,029	36,752,050	1,478,903	1,857,143

Among these articles rice is the only necessity of Japanese life, and the increase in the import is even greater than appears from the above figures, as the value of the large quantity annually obtained from Korea is not now included in them, as it was prior to the annexation. Even rice was not long ago a luxury to the small farming classes, who had generally to

be content with millet as the main staff of their daily food. All the other articles now mentioned would have been considered thirty years ago absolute luxuries, and their present consumption bears strong testimony to the improved scale of living among the people at large. It is to pay for these, as well as for armaments and education, that manufacturing industrial activity has been keenly stimulated, with what success will be shown by a very few figures.

In 1872, the whole export of manufactured articles, at that time all *objets de luxe*, such as fans, lacquer, porcelain and curios, was valued at 450,000 yen. In 1895,

Increase of
Manufacture.

the value was 37,195,000 yen. In 1913, during the first eleven months only, the export of wholly manufactured articles attained the value of 169,589,327 yen, and of partly manufactured articles that of 293,009,395 yen, the total of the two being 462,598,722 yen. Japan, in 1913, exported more millions worth of the proceeds of her manufacturing industries than she did thousands only forty-one years before. The principal items which combined to form this large total were cotton yarn, silk and cotton-piece goods, refined sugar, matches, floor matting, straw plait, clothing, hats and caps, not a single one of which was known as an export by the fathers of the present producers. One item that appears in the list is that of "tinned crabs," exported to the United States to the value of over a million and a quarter dollars, so that a vicarious revenge is provided by our allies for the tinned lobsters with which England is afflicted by the United States. In 1872 there was no import of raw material for manufacturing purposes. In 1895 a very low estimate of its value fell little short of 40,000,000 yen. In 1913, as before during the first eleven months only, its value was 324,447,827 yen, and that of partly manufactured articles was 115,530,362 yen, the total of the two classes of imports, for use in the local manufacturing industries being 439,977,989 yen, as compared with nothing forty-one years previously. In 1872 all manufacturing industry was domestic, carried on

by the families of individual households. There was nothing in the whole Empire that could be called a factory. In 1883 there were eighty-four factories, with machinery aggregating 1,382 steam and 365 water horse-power. In 1893 their number had increased to 1,163, the steam horse-power to 31,165, and the water to 4,142 ; and in 1911 the total number, exclusive of those owned by the Government, had grown to 14,228, employing 793,885 operators, the steam, gas or electric horse-power to 723,728, and the water horse-power to 131,084. In the cotton-spinning industry the most important which has been naturalised in Japan, there were in 1888 twenty-four factories with 114,000 spindles, which between them produced 13 000,000 lbs. of yarn. In 1894 there were forty-seven factories with 513,936 spindles ; their output was 99,000,000 lbs. of yarn, and 38,000 male and female operators were employed. In 1911 there were ninety factories with a daily average of 1,901,290 spindles at work. Their output was over 461,000,000 lbs. of yarn, and the average number of operatives in daily employment was 88,549.

The increased production of other manufactures is not less marked than that of cotton yarn. The weaving industry, is still mainly carried on by hand-looms in separate households, but the value of its output has grown from 96,000,000 yen in 1895 to 293,000,000 yen in 1911. The growth in other prominent manufacturing industries may be most briefly shown in tabular form, the figures of the values of their output in each case representing 000s.

	Paper.	Matches.	Porcelain.	Matting.	Leather.	Lacquer.	Straw Plaits.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1895	11,746	5,502	4,816	3,790	—	3,119	—
1911	39,316	12,204	14,896	10,408	6,463	8,603	5,964

Similar ratios of increase are shown throughout all the long list of minor manufactures, now so numerous and varied that it may be safely said that there is not one article, from

tooth-brushes and lamp chimneys to Dreadnought battleships, that is turned out from the workshops of Great Britain and Germany, the counterpart of which cannot be produced by Japanese artisans. Their quality is not always on a par with their quantity or variety, and "made in Germany" as a term of depreciation might without injustice be converted into "made in Japan," but such as the goods are they amply fulfil the expectations of the first economic reformers by finding a ready and large market throughout all the East, both Far and Mid, and their extension to Australia, even to Europe, is considered by the Japanese themselves to be well within possibility. It may be that this ambition will be realised before many years have passed, and that the great sale which the cheap and beautiful silk and cotton fabrics now command in Europe will be followed by a similarly large aggregate sale of imitations of peculiarly European products, of glassware, boots, saddlery, machinery, matches, cement, writing and printing papers, bicycles, rifles, soap, tooth-powder, umbrellas, cigarettes and a hundred other miscellaneous articles of every degree, for cheapness and appearance are strong recommendations to all purchasers, and all Japanese goods are both cheap and good to look upon. But the day is still distant when the Japanese products can attain the standard of quality of all their English models.

Workmen in Japan are deft and intelligent and, properly taught and directed, their skill would no doubt enable them to turn out the very best specimens of every product. Their standard of living, much though it has improved, is still low, and the price of labour is comparatively cheap. But the economic organisation and management of industrial enterprises on a large scale are deficient and, what is still worse, it is almost impossible for the Japanese manufacturers to realise that small and long-continued profits are, in the long run, more conducive to substantial prosperity than large profits which die

Quality of
Japanese
Manufactures.

Managers and
Workmen.

a speedy death. They seldom maintain the quality of their first successes. No reliability can be placed on their continued delivery of goods that will be up to the standard of their first samples, and no foreign buyers ever accept a consignment, no matter what is its nature, without in the first instance subjecting every portion of it to the most rigid inspection. This low degree of commercial honesty is the fault of the managers, but workmen with all their excellent qualities do not, either in their capacity or industry, compare favourably with their European confrères. Their hours are long, but they are broken by frequent rests. Their holidays are numerous, and in large factories the best efforts of three men in Japan have less result in the same working time than those of two in England, while the aggregate of all the employees in every factory, men, women and children, is double, perhaps more nearly threefold, what it would be in Europe. Labour, too, though it is still comparatively cheap, is rising. If 100 be taken as the index-number to represent the average cost in 1900, the index now exceeds 160. Going back to a more remote year, the following increases have taken place in the average daily wages throughout the Empire of the trades mentioned, which may be taken as typical of the whole range of skilled industries.

	Carpenter.	Stonemason.	Matmaker.	Weaver.	Lacquerer.	Tailor.
	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.
1887.....	22	25	21	13	20	39
1911.....	83	94	77	43	68	58

	Dyer.	Compositor.	Blacksmith.
	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.
1887.....	17	22	21
1911.....	54	54	70

CHAPTER XVI

BANKING, INSURANCE AND REVENUE

TURNING from trade to its ancillaries, banks, insurance and joint-stock companies, no less marked an advance is found than in that of trade. Prior to the Restoration of the Emperor, certain firms acted, principally in the great commercial town of Osaka, as financial agents for the feudal lords of the various principalities throughout the Empire in the disposal of the rice in which their revenues were collected. These agents were to a very limited extent bankers, but banking in its modern sense was unknown. Cash was hoarded by its owners, the grant of credit for commercial purposes had no existence, and as each of the 270 feudal principalities, into which the Empire was divided, was self-supplying in all its necessities and most of its luxuries, there was little occasion for the transmission of money. The opening of the country, the Restoration, the abolition of feudalism, the collection of the Imperial revenue in cash instead of in rice, made as complete a change in the financial as it did in the other national circumstances, and the old banking machinery, such as it was, proved utterly inefficient for coping with the new order of affairs that had so suddenly arisen.

The Government of the Emperor had to face a great financial problem apart from the promotion of the national industry and domestic and foreign trade. Not only had an amount of paper currency which, compared with the resources of the country at the period, was immense, been issued to meet the national expenditure during the first few years of the new Government's existence when it had practically no revenue, but every feudatory, in the days of his semi-independence, had been accustomed to issue at will,

**Banking
before the
Restoration.**

**Financial
Problems of
New
Government.**

without any regard for reserve or resources to meet it, paper currency for circulation within the limits of his own fief. When the Government took over the administration and revenues of the fiefs, it had perforce to assume at the same time their liabilities, among which was that of all the local paper currency in each. The difficulty was intensified by the fact that the clumsy and careless manner in which the local notes were printed had opened the way to forgeries of a very large extent. There was, therefore, in general or local circulation, a great variety of notes, local of many designs, Imperial not altogether uniform, and forgeries, and the burthen of all had to be assumed by the new Treasury. The first necessary step was to make the national currency uniform, and this was done by calling in all the old notes and exchanging them for a new Imperial issue of uniform pattern and such superior quality (all the new issue was printed in Germany) as to render forgery in the future too difficult and expensive to be readily attempted. When this had been done and one evil overcome, another remained. The notes were irredeemable. They gradually fell in face value, and to save the country from bankruptcy measures had to be devised which would enable them sooner or later to be made convertible into specie.

Banks were as necessary to the Government to enable it to meet the difficult financial problems which were before it

as they were for the promotion of trade and industry, and it is one of the many debts which Japan owes to her great statesman,

Prince Ito, that, while still young and comparatively unknown, without any personal influence of rank or reputation to help him, he was the first to impress upon his Government the advantage of national and private banking systems. Just as fourteen years later he went to Europe to study the science of Constitutional Government preparatory to the preparation of a constitution for Japan, so did he in 1870, when his advice had been accepted, proceed to the United States to investigate Western banking systems, their foundation,

control and management. On his return, national bank regulations were, with the assistance of foreign experts, drafted on the model of the National Bank Act of the United States, but with modifications, founded on the English system, introduced at the advice of the English experts who were in the Japanese service, prominent among whom was Mr. Alexander Allan Shand, now a director of Parr's Bank in London, who at that time gave up the management of an English bank in Yokohama to become adviser of the Japanese Treasury. The regulations were promulgated in 1872.

The first national banks were soon founded and began business, but financial misfortunes continued to harass the unsettled country. The annual imports

**Financial
Difficulties.**

largely exceeded the exports and the difference had of course to be paid in specie, which left the country and, as the currency in circulation, was replaced by paper. The commutation of the pensions, which common justice had required to be granted to the mediatised feudatories and their armies of retainers (Samurai) on the abolition of feudalism, and the cost of the suppression of the Satsuma Rebellion brought new and heavy financial burthens on the Government, which had to be provided for to a large extent by new issues of paper, and the result was a steady and continuous fall in the specie value of the latter until, in 1882, it reached a discount of 80 per cent. This was naturally accompanied by a rise in all prices throughout the country and general economic disorganisation. A great number of banks had been established (their number increased from two with a capital of 3,000,000 yen and a note circulation of 850,000 yen in 1872, to 143 with an aggregate capital of 44,000,000 yen, and a note circulation of 34,000,000 yen in 1882), and it was provided by the original regulations that all their notes should be convertible into specie. It was found impossible for them to meet their obligations and when the failure occurred of some of the oldest commercial corporations, whose existence was almost historic, a general panic was threatened. It was

averted by new Regulations, by the terms of which banks were permitted to redeem their own with Government notes, which had not yet fallen in value. Each bank had been required to deposit 80 per cent. of its capital with the Government on bonds on which the bank received interest, and each was authorised to issue notes to the same extent. Bank notes were now exchanged for Government notes to the amounts of their deposits and gradually disappeared from circulation, the entire currency of the nation taking the form of Government notes only. Then the depreciation of the latter began and was rapidly accelerated by the Satsuma Rebellion until, in 1882, it had reached the extent which has been mentioned.

We shall not attempt within the limits of space that are at our disposal to trace in detail the measures which were taken

**Government
Measures.**

by the Government to remedy the financial chaos into which the country had fallen. Administrative economy was one. The expenditure of all departments was curtailed and taxes were increased, and just at this time exports fortunately began to show a substantial excess over imports in the foreign trade, amounting to over twenty million yen in the three years from 1882 to 1884, so that specie began to come into instead of flowing out of the country which had hitherto been the almost invariable experience. All the Government's measures were so successful that, whereas in 1882, national bankruptcy seemed to be in view, four years later the monetary system had been placed on a basis sufficiently strong to enable the Government to resume specie payments.

But neither increased economical administration, increased taxation nor a changing balance of trade, would have been sufficient to enable them to attain that end

**Foundation of
the two Great
Banks.**

without the assistance and co-operation of two banks which were founded at that time, and are now among the greatest and most successful banking corporations in Japan, it might almost be said in the world.

The Bank of Japan (Nippon Ginko) was founded in 1882. It was modelled chiefly on the Bank of Belgium, but modifications were introduced into the regulations under which it was founded, some of which were adopted from the Constitutions of the national banks of other countries and some based on the peculiar customs of Japan. It was intended that the Bank of Japan should become the centre of all banks in Japan, to which all should look for guidance in their daily trade actions and help when it was required ; that it should also be the recognised financial agent of the Government, entrusted with the management of the national revenue and expenditure, and that it should generally improve banking business by lowering and equalising the rate of interest, improving bill discounting and facilitating the circulation of money.

Bank of
Japan.

Prior to the Bank of Japan, the Yokohama Specie Bank, so called from the fact that its capital and all its transactions were intended to be in specie at a time when the national currency in everyday circulation entirely consisted of depreciated paper, was established under the regulations applicable to the National Banks but with a special sphere of its own—that of affording financial assistance to foreign trade by acting in the business of foreign exchange, in the negotiation of bills and the granting of credits connected with foreign trade. It was entrusted with the general management of the foreign financial affairs of the Government, the two banks being thus supplementary to each other, the Specie being charged with the foreign and the Bank of Japan with the domestic banking business of the Government, and both, in their general business with ordinary clients, confining themselves to the limits prescribed for them in their relations with the Government.

Yokohama
Specie Bank.

The Bank of Japan started with an authorised capital of 10,000,000 yen, but this has since been increased on three occasions, and the capital now stands at 60,000,000 yen (£6,145,652), of which 37,500,000 yen (£3,841,032) has been

paid up. It is now the only bank privileged to issue its own notes, which it does against specie in its own vaults and on the security of Government Bonds and Treasury Bills and other bonds and commercial

**Capital and
Business of the
two Banks.**

bills of reliable nature, the maximum in the latter case being 120,000,000 yen. The original capital of the Specie Bank (founded in 1890) was 3,000,000 yen, but this has since been increased in four different stages, consequent on the steady extension of its business, both in amount and scope, to 48,000,000 yen (£4,916,522), of which 30,000,000 yen (£3,092,828) is paid up. The businesses of both banks are defined as follows—

The Bank of Japan : (1) to discount or purchase Government bills, bills of exchange and commercial bills ; (2) to buy or sell gold and silver bullion ; (3) to make loans on security of gold and silver coins and bullion ; (4) to collect bills for banks, companies or merchants who are its regular customers ; (5) to receive deposits and to accept the custody of articles of value, such as gold, silver and other precious metals and documents, and (6) to make advances in current accounts or loans for fixed periods on security of Government bonds, Treasury bills and other bonds and shares guaranteed by the Government. The Bank is in addition entrusted with the management of the Treasury receipts and disbursements.

Yokohama Specie Bank : (1) foreign exchange ; (2) inland exchange ; (3) loans ; (4) deposits of money and custody of articles of value ; (5) discount and collection of bills of exchange, promissory notes and other securities ; and (6) exchange of coins. The bank may also buy or sell public bonds, gold and silver bullion, and foreign coins, if so required by the conditions of its business. It may also be entrusted with matters in relation to foreign loans and with the management of public money for international account. Besides, the bank is authorised to issue bank notes convertible into silver in Kwangtung Province and China under the control of the Ministers of State for Foreign Affairs and Finance.

The last passed through some stormy waters after its foundation. In the first place its original capital could not be raised in specie, and the Government had

**Early
Struggles of
Yokohama
Specie Bank.**

to come to its assistance by subscribing one-third of the whole. Deposits in paper were accepted and utilised in foreign exchange transactions, the proceeds of which were received in silver, and when paper began to rise in value and

the deposits had to be repaid, such heavy losses were incurred that at one time it was thought the bank could not be carried on. It was in all but its final result an exact repetition of the story of the Oriental Bank, a bank which at one time had all the banking business of the Far East in its own hands just as the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank has at the present day, and held its head as high as did the Bank of England. The Oriental Bank received deposits in gold from its thrifty Scotch constituents in the United Kingdom and remitted them to the East in silver. Then, when the ratio of silver fell, the proceeds were insufficient to repay the gold deposits, and the proud and worthily respected old bank had to close its doors. It had no Government to come to its aid. The Specie Bank, fortunately for itself, had. Prior to its establishment all foreign banking transactions in mercantile affairs, even of Japanese merchants, were conducted through the agencies at Yokohama of the Oriental and other English banks engaged in Far Eastern business, there being no other medium of remitting to or drawing from abroad. The new Specie Bank entered into violent competition with them—so violent that its title (Shokin Ginko) was rendered into English by its rivals not as "Specie" but as "Shocking" Bank—but its first managers were totally ignorant of all the principles that controlled the fluctuations of foreign exchange, and the only standard by which they could regulate their transactions was that fixed by the English agencies, whom they endeavoured to supplant both in the buying and selling of drafts. They were always ready either to buy or sell at more favourable rates to their customers than were or could be quoted by the experienced English bankers who, in their turn, considered themselves quite justified in meeting an opposition, that could not have existed had it not been fostered by the Government support, by occasionally deliberately quoting rates that could only be productive of loss. The result was a very large influx of business to the Specie Bank, but it was the reverse of profitable and more heavy losses were incurred which again

could only be met by friendly Government assistance. Its early difficulties were, however, gradually overcome and when, on the resumption of specie payments, the stability of the national currency became established and foreign trade simultaneously began to advance by leaps and bounds, while directors and managers, quick as all Japanese are in learning everything to which they give their minds, gradually mastered the principles of international exchange, it entered on a career of prosperity from which it has never since even temporarily receded. It has now branches in all the important commercial cities of the world; it has won the complete confidence of Europeans both in the honesty and efficiency of its management; it has amply fulfilled the intentions of its founders by the facilities which it has given to foreign trade, and whatever assistance it received in its early days from its own Government has since been repaid tenfold by its management of all the Government's foreign financial affairs, which have grown to an extent that the founders, whether statesmen, managers or subscribers, would not have dared to contemplate in their most ambitious hopes.

Other banks founded in later years for specific purposes, under the special patronage and control of the Government, are the Hypothec Bank of Japan, founded in 1896 with a capital of 110,000,000 yen, increased in 1911 to 20,000,000 yen (£2,048,551), of which 15,000,000 (£1,536,413) has been paid up, for the purpose of furnishing loans, on the security of immovable property or in certain strictly specified cases without security, for long periods at a low rate of interest, for the improvement and development of agricultural, manufacturing and marine industry throughout the whole Empire, the loans being repaid by fixed yearly instalments within thirty years: the Industrial Bank, founded in 1900 with a capital of 10, since increased to 17½ (£1,792,482) million yen, the increase, which was fully paid up in 1911, having been subscribed by foreign capitalists. Its business is to deal

with bonds and shares, either to make loans on their security or to subscribe for them and generally to perform the functions in regard to movable that the Hypothec Bank does to immovable property ; the Banks of Hokkaido and of Taiwan (Formosa), the objects of which are the promotion of the economical development of the two islands from whose names they take their titles ; and finally the Agricultural and Industrial Banks (forty-six in number), one in each prefecture, with an aggregate capital of 28 million yen, of which each branch performs in its own district the functions that the Hypothec Bank does for the Empire.

" The seven banks above mentioned, the Bank of Japan, the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Hypothec Bank, the Bank for Colonisation and Exploitation of Hokkaido, the Bank of Taiwan

**The Seven
Government
Banks.**

and the Industrial Bank of Japan, and the Industrial and Agricultural Banks, are banks established under the special patronage of the Government, each with some special object as is mentioned before under the head of each of these banks. While their branches of business are more or less limited, corresponding to the object for which they are founded, they are all endowed with some privileges more or less lucrative, which may more than compensate the disadvantages of their limited sphere of action. At the same time they are subject to the strict control of the Government ; not only their statutes but also particular cases of their action, as are pointed out in the laws, are subject to special permission of the Minister of Finance. Besides, one or more special commissioners are appointed for each of these banks to supervise the course of their business and make report on it to the Minister. The governors, presidents and directors of these banks with the exception of the Agricultural and Industrial banks and the Bank for Colonisation and Exploitation of Hokkaido are either directly appointed by the Government or approved by the latter after they are elected in the general meetings of the banks."

Ordinary joint-stock, private and savings banks are controlled by the Minister of Finance under the Banks Regulations of 1890. Every association publicly engaged

**Joint-Stock
Banks.**

in discounting bills, in exchange, in receiving deposits or making loans, is, under these regulations, legally a bank, though it may not be so termed in its title. Each requires the Minister's licence before it can begin business, and is subject at any time to an interrogation

on his part as to its condition and assets. Each is required to publish half-yearly balance sheets, while the directors of savings banks, "whose business it is to take charge of deposits made by the public at compound interest," and which must be joint-stock companies, are jointly under an unlimited liability for all the obligations of the bank incurred during their term of office, and their liability does not end until after the lapse of two full years from the date of their retirement.

Since 1890 banking business has advanced both in its volume and in its success in ratio with the commercial and industrial advance of the Empire, and while
Economic Advance. some of the smaller banks fell during occasional commercial crises of short duration

(the worst was caused by the interruption of trade with China during the Boxer disturbances of 1900), the majority have fully shared the general national prosperity, and the great banks we have mentioned have continuously paid handsome dividends, and at the same time accumulated large reserves. The results both of the China War in 1894 and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 had most marked effects on the economic conditions of the Empire, the first in promoting, with the capital that the indemnity brought into the country, a greatly increased productive capacity, and the second in the increase of national credit which enabled Japan to procure foreign loans on such favourable terms that when the Russian War came in 1904 not a particle of disturbance was created in domestic finances. To one who can look back and compare the present financial condition of Japan with that of 1872, when she could only obtain an insignificant loan from abroad, earmarked though it was for railway construction, by paying usurious interest and by pledging her customs revenue as security for its annual amortisation, when inconvertible paper was the only currency and nothing certain was known as to the amount in circulation, when the country was believed to have been drained of all its specie and the people had given no evidence of greater industrial capacity than was sufficient

to supply their own modest requirements, the transformation which has since taken place seems far from the least of all those which have combined to make her a great power.

All savings banks are required, in the interests of their depositors, to place in the Government Deposit Office interest-bearing national or local loan bonds to the

**Savings
Banks.**

value of at least one-fourth of their deposits, but when this guarantee fund reaches an amount of half the capital, commercial bills and the shares and debentures of sound companies may be used instead of Government or local loan bonds. There are now 478 savings banks in the Empire, exclusive of ordinary banks, which combine savings banks with their general business with a capital of over 83 million yen, of which nearly 53 million yen is paid up. The aggregate balance of their deposits in 1912 exceeded 329 million yen in 1912. These banks, of course, do not include the Post Office Savings Banks, in which there were in the same year 11½ million depositors, whose aggregate deposits exceeded 183 million yen.

Banking always existed though in a very primitive form in Japan, but insurance is entirely of exotic growth, and it was

Insurance. not until 1881 that the first company was started, the Tokio Marine Insurance Company, founded by an association of nobles with a

capital of 600,000 yen. The enterprise being entirely a new one, there was no law of insurance until 1899, when the commercial code came into operation. The code contained provisions regulating insurance contracts, and it was followed in 1900 by the Insurance Business Law, which defined the conditions under which the business may be carried on either by Joint-Stock Companies or on mutual terms, the principal of which are that a company, whether joint-stock or mutual, must possess a capital of at least 100,000 yen, and confine its business entirely to that of insurance. This law was amended and new clauses were added to it in 1912. There are now in existence 34 Life, 23 Fire, 11 Marine, 7 Transport and 1

Fidelity companies, some of these companies combining two or more forms of business. The following figures, representing millions of yen, of the amounts of the policies in existence in each year, will show the extent to which the business has already grown—

AMOUNTS INSURED

	Life.	Fire.	Marine.	Transport.	Fidelity.
1899-1900	167	236	3	—	—
1909-1910	480	1,086	51	2·7	·95
1911-1912	646	1,282	75	3	1·91

Until 1894 the most important item of the national revenue was the land tax. In 1872 a valuation, based on the net average annual value of its produce for five years, was begun of all the land throughout the Empire, and it was completed in 1881.

The value was fixed at what even at that time was a very low assessment, and a tax was collected from the owners at the rate of 5 per cent. of the assessed values on urban, and 3 per cent. on rural lands. While this impost is designated a tax, it is in reality the rent paid by the owners to the head landlord, who is the Emperor. Under the feudal system, the terms existing between the feudatories, the owners of the land in each fief, and their agricultural and trading tenants varied in every fief, but in all the tenants paid their quittances in kind, and the average rule throughout the Empire was that four-tenths of the profit of agricultural holdings went to the feudatories, and six-tenths were reserved by the tenants for their own use. When the fiefs were surrendered to the Emperor, he, through his Government, took the position formerly held by the feudatories *vis-à-vis* their tenants, and became the head landlord, and the so-called Imperial tax, thenceforward paid in cash, took the place of the produce formerly handed to the feudatories. The position of the tenants was therefore immensely improved both by the far lighter burthen that was placed on them, by its uniformity throughout all the Empire, and by the security of their ownership, which was confirmed

by Government title-deeds issued in their names. Formerly every farmer held his land at the will of the feudatory, and had no rights of sale. Under the new system, not only could he not be disturbed in his tenancy so long as the tax was paid, but he acquired the full rights of a perpetual leaseholder as to the disposal of his land, either by sale or mortgage.

Various changes have been made from time to time in the rate of the tax, but the original assessed value, greatly though the market value of all land had risen, remained unchanged until the Russian War, when a new system was introduced of assessing the official value for taxation purposes at ten times the acknowledged annual rental value, and though the rate of the tax has since been slightly reduced, its aggregate yield has been nearly doubled. It is collected from the mortgagee in the case of land that is mortgaged and from the superfiiciary in the case of land that is held under superficies for any term exceeding 100 years. Superficies is, it is to be remembered, the only form in which foreigners in their individual capacity can become the owners of land in Japan. In all other cases the tax is collected direct from the owner in whose name the title deeds are entered in the register. The annual amount of the tax levied up to the Russian War was in round numbers 47,000,000 yen. In the financial year 1909-10 it was 85,693,995 yen, and in 1913-14 it was 75,335,046 yen, a reduction having been made in the rates leviable upon residential land. The present taxes are 2·5 per cent. on residential land, 4·7 per cent. on rice and other tilled lands, and 5·5 per cent. on all other land, the ratio of the tax to the official value varying inversely to the value. These rates are somewhat lower on land in the Hokkaido.

The land tax is no longer the main source of the Imperial revenue, the main contribution to which is now made by the tax on liquors, which varies according to the alcoholic strength of the various kinds of the native saké, the national drink brewed from

• **Rate and
Collection of
Land Tax.**

**Tax on
Liquor.**

rice, and is also levied on beer, and all wines and distilled liquors. The proceeds of the tax have in a period of ten years increased from 50 to 89,000,000 yen. The other principal sources of revenue from taxation are the customs duties, the income and business taxes, the sugar excise and the consumption tax on textile fabrics, the estimated yield from all taxes, strictly so called, but inclusive of that on land, being in 1913-14 336,943,663 yen as against 133,000,000 yen in 1900-01.

The income tax, first imposed in 1887, is a highly graduated one, varying from 1 per cent. on personal incomes not exceeding 300 yen per annum to 5½ per cent. on those

Income Tax. exceeding 100,000 yen, but under the extraordinary special tax law passed to meet the increased expenditure since the Russian War, special additional rates are now levied varying from 1 per cent. in the case of incomes of the lowest standard to 14·85 per cent. on those of the highest, so that all persons with incomes exceeding 100,000 yen (£10,000) now pay income tax at the rate of 20·35 per cent. of their net income. The rates payable by joint-stock companies and other juridical persons are fixed on a somewhat lower standard, those with revenues exceeding 100,000 yen paying a total rate of 12·50 per cent. as compared with the 20·35 per cent. payable by individuals with the same income. The tax is levied on all persons who are domiciled in or have resided for at least one year within the Empire, or who, though not so domiciled nor residing, are owners of property or are engaged in trade or business, or receive interest from public bonds or from joint-stock companies carrying on business in the Empire, but, in the latter cases, only in respect to the amount of the income that is derived by each taxpayer from the several sources.

The business tax, created in 1896, is levied on industrial and commercial pursuits of every kind: manufacturing, banking, warehousing, sales, brokerage, transport, agency, etc., and is variously calculated on the amount of capital employed

in each occupation, the numbers of employees, the rental values of buildings used, the amount of sales or commission, the rates varying considerably according to the occupation. The table of rates is too long and too intricate to admit of its even being summarised here, but, as an illustration of the whole, that on the sale of goods may be quoted. In this case, the rate levied on wholesale sales is $\frac{1}{10000}$, on retail sales $\frac{2}{10000}$, on the rental value of the buildings used in the trade $\frac{9}{10000}$, and on each employee two yen, entirely irrespective of the nature of his employment, the tax, being the same on the head clerk of a great bank as on a messenger or porter.

The customs duties were originally fixed, under conventional tariffs, with the Treaty Powers, which lasted until the year 1899, at a nominal average basis of 5 per cent.

Customs. ad valorem. Under the new treaties, which came into force in 1899, Japan to a great extent recovered her tariff autonomy, and from that time the duties have been greatly and continuously increased, the last increase having taken place in the year 1911, when the last relics of conventional tariffs came to an end. Heavy imposts are now levied on every article that is imported into Japan, irrespective of whether it competes with native produce or not. Increased duties and increased trade have combined to render the customs the third in order in the value of their contribution to the Imperial revenue from taxation, and a further indication of the advance in Japan's foreign trade is afforded by the steady progress of the revenue derived from them as shown in the table on the following page.

The other subjects of revenue are included in the following tables, the first of which shows the total revenue and expenditure from 1880 to 1914, and the second the share which each of the principal branches of revenue has contributed to the whole since 1895, the figures in the first case representing millions, and in

**Subjects of
Revenue.**

the second, thousands of yen. Those for the customs in the last line are the amount actually collected in the calendar year 1913. In other items in the same line they represent the yield estimated in the budget for the financial year 1913-14.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

	Revenue.			Expenditure.		
	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.	Total.	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.	Total.
1880-81	58	5·3	63·3	60·2	2·8	63
1900-01	192·1	103·7	295·8	149·1	143·6	292·7
1910-11	487·2	60·9	548·2	419·1	129·1	548·2
1913-14	529·8	57·	586·8	422·	164·8	586·8

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF REVENUE

	Land.	Liquors.	Customs.	Income.	Business.	Sugar Excise.	Stamp Receipt.
1895-6	38,693	17,749	6,786	1,497	—	—	901
1904-5	60,040	58,751	23,159	14,369	12,601	8,362	17,226
1910-11	77,581	87,782	43,411	31,978	25,304	15,243	24,108
1913-14	75,335	89,048	73,580	35,472	25,039	15,125	29,071

Post and Telegraphs.	Tobacco Monopoly.	State Railways.	Salt Monopoly.	Public Property and Undertakings.
9,554	—	3,603	—	2,611
29,351	12,606	12,526	—	7,062
47,946	50,365	—	10,667	17,104
58,993	53,728	—	10,009	17,307

Other taxes, which we have not mentioned in the table, are levied on Soy, a luxury as universally used as the famous Worcester sauce is by ourselves ; on textile

The Burthen of Taxation. fabrics (consumption), mines, exchanges, travelling, and mineral oil. Heavy succession

duties are added to the burthen of the income tax. There are large local taxes to be paid in addition to the Imperial taxes, and altogether it may be said that, in proportion to their means, the people of Japan are now as heavily taxed as those of the United Kingdom, though they are spared from poor law, employers' liability and national insurance, burthens which are assumed by the " family " in Japan, with which those outside the circle of the family have no concern. Until the China War, the land tax was the main

element in the whole revenue of the Empire, but we have shown that this so-called tax was only rent under another name. Practically, the Japanese were till then an untaxed people. One tax after another has since been imposed and increased as the necessities of the Empire required further revenue to enable it to maintain the national glory which it was winning in the face of the world. So far national pride has enabled the people to bear their novel burthens, altogether unknown to their ancestors, and the marvellous progress of industry and trade has furnished the means to meet them. But indications have been given in recent years that the limits of endurance and capacity are, if not already reached, now within view.


Industry is still increasing and trade growing. But the balance of trade is still largely against Japan, and in only two of the past ten years (1906 and 1909)

Foreign Trade. has the balance been the other way. In 1910 the difference in the aggregate value of the exports and imports was only six million yen in favour of the latter, and the balance against Japan must have been recuperated, at least threefold, by the money spent by European residents and travellers, and by the freight earned by Japanese ships, but in 1900 the difference was 82 million yen ; in 1905 and 1907 it was 167 and 62 million yen, and in 1912 and 1913 it was 92 and 97 million yen. If, therefore, the Japanese are able to sell more than they were, their requirements, that can only be satisfied from abroad, are still greater in proportion. The national profits from foreign trade are, therefore, questionable as far as regards the increase of a reserve of bullion in the country.

Industry will no doubt continue to develop, though possibly not in the wondrous ratio that it has already done. Japan may, probably will, with all her great advantages, geographical, knowledge of the peoples, adaptability, willingness to take the trouble of small transactions, and the cheapness with which her goods

**Industrial
Prospects.**

are turned out, entirely supplant European manufacturers in the markets of the Far East. But the last-mentioned factor in her favour is disappearing. The standard of living among her people has risen immensely ; they are acquiring a knowledge of the rights of labour and are no longer willing to take submissively just what their employers offer as wages ; their productive capacity is still far beneath that of their European confrères, and the expenses of management of large industrial undertakings are beyond what they are in Europe. We have already given one of the reasons for this in the chapter on Social Institutions. Japan's struggle before she attains the goal of her commercial and industrial ambition will, therefore, not be an easy one, and the competition which she will always have to face will necessitate her goods being sold at prices which show only the smallest margin of profit. We are speaking now of the exotic industries which she has learned from Europe. The national products which she has to sell are silk, tea (only to the United States), coal, copper, camphor, rice (when a good harvest leaves a surplus), artistic luxuries, and the products of her fisheries (to China), and these will no doubt continue to be developed as they have been. But the demand for all is limited. Camphor is the only item of which Japan has an absolute monopoly and, even in that case, the natural is now threatened with the competition of an artificial product. Her rice is the best in the world in every sense, in its flavour, appearance and nutritive qualities. As rice, it is a veritable luxury and no one, who has been accustomed to use it and can afford to pay for it will ever be willing to use another. But it is comparatively unknown, and Japan's import of the far cheaper product of Siam for the use of the poorer classes of her own people far exceeds that which she exports herself in the years of her most abundant harvests. Her trade and industries are sufficient to enable her to bear her present national burthens. Their progress will enable her to meet further reasonable demands, even those entailed by a defensive war. That it will enable her to bear unaided



the cost of an aggressive war against a great power is improbable. And is she likely with a national debt of 250 millions sterling, of which 143 millions are owing to foreign creditors, and with local debts of over thirty millions, to obtain another foreign loan unless it is ear-marked for productive purposes ?

POSTSCRIPT

SINCE the foregoing pages were in print, the greatest war in history has broken out in Europe, and Japan has, for good or ill, cast in her lot with the Allies, who are fighting in defence of civilisation and liberty against a military autocracy that threatened to impose on all nations the mental and physical slavery which has brutalized its own people. In doing so, Japan has shown not only her sympathy with the spirit of democracy and of national and personal freedom, but a loyalty to her treaty obligations not less honourable than that which was our own motive in undertaking to defend the neutrality of Belgium or to avenge its violation. She is not waging an aggressive war ; she has avowed to the United States her intention not to profit territorially by its results, no matter how successful her arms may be, and it would be shameful to doubt that she will adhere to that intention with any less scrupulous fidelity than she has done to the terms of her Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain. Under that treaty she was bound to assist Great Britain in the defence of British territorial rights and special interests in Eastern Asia. The special interests included the protection of shipping and trade, both of which were seriously menaced from the German military and naval base at Kiaochow, at a time when all the naval strength of Great Britain was required in European waters, and Japan would have been false to her plighted word had she acted otherwise than she has done.

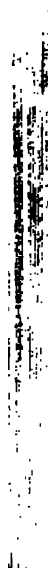
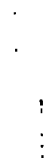
The existence of the German colony of Kiaochow, its steady development, at an aggregate outlay which has been estimated

by competent authorities to exceed thirty-five millions sterling, into a strong fortress, directly facing and within easy striking distance of their own shores, has been a burning sore in the hearts of all Japanese. The foundations of the colony were laid in fraud and injustice of which Japan herself was the direct victim in only a less degree than was China, whose territory was ruthlessly appropriated. Sixteen years passed, throughout all of which Japan bore her wrongs in silence, though at any time during the last half of this period she had only to strike, even unaided, to win. Strong as the defences of Kiaochow were made by the highest engineering talents of Germany, the fate of Port Arthur was sufficient to show how little they would have availed against the military and naval power and skill of Japan ; and once war had been declared, the garrison would have been immediately cut off from all reinforcements from Europe as completely as it has been in the present war. German Dreadnoughts could only have reached Far Eastern waters, without established coaling stations on the way, in the same condition as did Admiral Rojestvensky's fleet, and, when they arrived there, would have met with the same fate, though no doubt at greater cost to their antagonists. The fact that the Japanese, under such circumstances, confident in their own strength and in the absolute inviolability of their own Island Empire, were patient so long, is positive evidence that they have now drawn the sword only in fulfilment of their treaty obligations to Great Britain, and in their sincere desire to establish peace on foundations more permanent and reliable than they could ever have been while autocratic Germany continued to be a military factor in the Far East.

For their help in the present struggle, the allied Powers of Europe will not be ungrateful, and a new and lasting bond of friendship has been formed between the two Island Empires of the West and the East. Kiaochow has already fallen. It was invaded by Japan within a fortnight from the declaration

of war, and, after combined military and naval operations, prudently and humanely conducted so as to entail the least possible cost of life and money, the least material injury to the handsome residential settlement which had been created at the capital (Tsingtau), the final surrender was made, and the German flag was lowered on the last stronghold in the capital on the morning of the 7th of November. A small British force, including some Indian troops, co-operated with the Japanese in the later stages of the siege. With the fall of Kiaochow, Germany's military activity in the Far East has come to an end for ever. The Western Pacific has been rendered safe against her predatory cruisers, and, no matter what turn the war may take in Europe, her ambitious dreams of territorial expansion can now find no further realisation in the Far East. Japan has become the vindicator of a new Monroe doctrine, which proclaims to the world that European hands must henceforth be withheld from all aggression in Eastern Asia. Her share in the present war may not yet have reached its limit. It is not impossible that her troops may ere long be found, side by side, with those of the Allies on the Rhine frontier or advancing on Berlin from the East in conjunction with their former Russian enemies. Then the visions of the Yellow Peril may materialise in Germany in a manner not foreseen by their modern expounder, for Japan will enter Europe, not to take part in rapine and outrage, but to aid in securing civilisation and humanity from the permanent ruin in which the Emperor has endeavoured to overwhelm both.

November 16th, 1914.



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